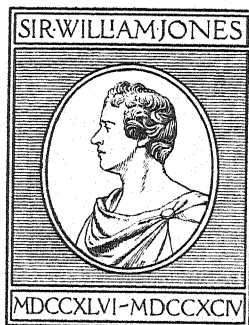


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NOTICE

His Majesty, the King Emperor, has been graciously pleased to grant permission to the Asiatic Society of Bengal to use the title 'Royal' before its name.

The Society, therefore, will henceforth be known as the 'Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal', and the *Journal* and *Year-Book* will be called *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* and *Year-Book of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and the abbreviations for references will be: JRASBL; JRASBSc; and YBRASB.

UPENDRANATH BRAHMACHARI, Kt.,

*Actg. General Secretary,
Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

CALCUTTA,
1, PARK STREET,
August, 1936.

Islāmic Apocrypha (Tadlīs).

By M. HIDAYAT HOSAIN.

The literary activities of the whole Islāmic world are rooted in the Qur'ān and the Hadīth. The Qur'ān is being preserved by innumerable adherents of Islām by committing it to memory and as such there is no possibility of any addition to, omission from, or alteration of a single word, in the text of the Qur'ān; but the Hadīth covers a vast literature and the early Islāmic scholars devised means and rules to establish its authenticity. *Tadlīs* removes the Hadīth from the category of Hadīth Ṣaḥīḥ (sound Hadīth) to that of unauthentic ones.

According to the Arabic lexicon¹ *Tadlīs* means 'to conceal a fault or defect in an article of merchandise, from the purchaser', and according to the traditionists, 'to conceal the defects of the Hadīth, either in the text, in the chain of narrators or in the source', i.e. the teacher from whom it is learnt.²

Tadlīs is of three kinds. They are, (1) *Tadlīs fī'l Isnād* (تدليس فى الاسناد) *Tadlīs in the chain of narrators*; (2) *Tadlīs fī'l Matn* (تدليس فى المتن) *Tadlīs in the text*; and (3) *Tadlīs fī'sh Shuyūkh* (تدليس فى الشيوخ) *Tadlīs in the teacher from whom the tradition is learnt*.

I. *Tadlīs in the chain of narrators.*

It is classified under seven heads, viz. :—

(1) The narrator narrates a Hadīth from a teacher from whom he has learnt other Hadīths, but the particular Hadīth is not directly learnt from the teacher but through a person who had learnt from the teacher. At the time of narration, the narrator narrates in a language which goes to show that he has learnt it direct from the teacher, e.g. instead of '*ḥaddathānā*' (حدثنا)—narrated to us—or similar words, the narrator uses the expression *Qāla fulān* (قال فلان)—such and such a person said.

(2) The narrator mentions the chain of narrators from whom the Hadīth is learnt, but omits the names of those who

¹ Lane's *Arabic English Lexicon*, Book I, Part III (1867), p. 903.

² *Zafr al-Amānī fī Mukhtasar al-Jurjānī*, p. 213; see also *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, 1856, p. 218; Salisbury, p. 92, I; Risch, p. 20; Sprenger, *Mohammad III*, p. xcix, übersetzt es : unredlichkeit, and Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, vol. II, p. 48.

are considered weak traditionists, or are of minor age, or are untrustworthy. This kind of *tadlīs* is called *Tadlīs tajwīd* or *tasviya* (تدليس تجويد یا تدلیس تسویه). *Tasviya* (تسویه) means 'to make equal', i.e. to establish on an equal footing with other *Hadīths*. *Tajwīd* (تجوید) means 'to show a thing as perfect'. This is the worst kind of *Tadlīs*. Baqiya¹ bin al-Walid,² Walid bin Muslim³ and Hasan bin Dhakwān⁴ were in the habit of practising this kind of *Tadlīs*.

(3) The narrator mentions also another name, or names, along with the source from which he has heard the tradition, but he has actually never heard it from such a person or persons. This is called *Tadlīs al-ʿAtf* (تدلیس العطف) on account of the *ʿAtf* (conjunction); *wāw*, e.g. *Ḥaddathānā fulān wa fulān* (حدثنا فلان و فلان) so and so, and so and so have narrated. The narrator had never learnt from the second 'so and so'.

(4) The narrator pauses for a moment after saying (حدثنا) *ḥaddathānā* and after a while mentions the name of the person from whom he has not learnt the tradition; as for instance Ibn ʿAdī⁵ in *al-Kāmil* says that ʿUmar bin ʿUbaid⁶ at-Tanāfisi used to say *ḥaddathānā*, then remained silent, and after a while said that Hishām bin ʿUrwa⁷ narrated from his father, who

¹ This is the expression which is used by the traditionists:—

احادیث بقیة لیست بنقیة کن منها علی تقیة

The traditions narrated by Baqiya are not genuine, so be on guard against it.

² Abū Muḥammad Baqiya bin al-Walid al-Kalāʿi was born A.H. 115, A.D. 733 and died A.H. 197, A.D. 812 or A.H. 198, A.D. 813. See adh-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-Iʿtidāl*, vol. I, pp. 154-158, and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. I, pp. 473-478.

³ Abū l-ʿAbbās Walid bin Muslim ad-Dimashqī was born A.H. 119, A.D. 737 and died A.H. 195, A.D. 810. *Mizān al-Iʿtidāl*, vol. III, p. 275, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vol. XI, pp. 151-155 and adh-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffaz*, vol. I, p. 278.

⁴ Abū Salama al-Ḥasan bin Dhakwān narrates *Aḥādīth* from Ibn Sirīn (d. A.H. 110, A.D. 728), Ṭāʿūs, and Abū Rijā al-ʿUṭaradī. For further particulars of his life see *Mizān*, vol. I, p. 227 and *Tahdhīb*, vol. II, p. 276.

⁵ The full name of Ibn ʿAdī is Abū Aḥmad ʿAbdallāh bin Muḥammad al-Jurjānī. He twice visited Syria and Egypt for the sake of study. His first journey was in A.H. 297, A.D. 909. The full name of his work *al-Kāmil* is *al-Kāmil fī maʿrifat ad-Duʿafā wa l-Matrūkīn* and it is a masterpiece on the subject of determining the weak and rejected traditionists. He died A.H. 365, A.D. 975. *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. II, p. 233, and H. Khalifa, vol. V, p. 28.

⁶ ʿUmar bin ʿUbaid at-Tanāfisi was born A.H. 104, A.D. 722 and died A.H. 185, A.D. 801 or 187 (802) or 188 (803). *Mizān al-Iʿtidāl*, II, p. 265, and *Tahdhīb*, VII, p. 480.

⁷ Hishām bin ʿUrwa died A.H. 146, A.D. 763. *Shadharāt adh-Dhahab*, vol. I, p. 218, and *Mizān al-Iʿtidāl*, vol. III, p. 255.

narrates from 'Ā'isha,¹ but he had never heard the Hadīth from Hishām. This kind of *Tadlis* is called *Tadlis al-Qaṭa'* (تدليس القطع). *Qaṭa'* (قطع) means to cut, on account of the interruption caused by his silence.

(5) A teacher gives permission to a student to narrate Hadīth though the latter had not actually studied under him. The student says at the time of narration *haddathānā* or *akhbaranā*, which implies that he heard it direct from the teacher, whereas he should have said *Ajāzanā* (أجازنا), i.e. 'I was permitted to say'.

The other aspect of this kind of *Tadlis* is that a student obtains a book from his teacher² in which Hadīths are recorded and the student has neither read with nor heard from the teacher. At the time of narration, the student says *Haddathānā* or *Akhbaranā* (حدثنا أو أخبرنا) which shows that he had learnt from the teacher. Ishāq bin³ Rāshid al-Jazarī and Faṭr bin⁴ Khalifa were in the habit of saying *haddathānā* or *akhbaranā* though they had never heard the Hadīth from their teachers.

(6) The narrator does not say *haddathānā* or *akhbaranā*, and ascribes the Hadīth to his *Shaikh* (teacher) along with the chain of narrators though he had not heard it from his *Shaikh*. Al-Ḥākim has written about Sufyān bin 'Uayayna⁵ (سفيان بن عيينة) that Sufyān once said az-Zuhri⁶ and then mentioned the whole chain of narrators. When the students enquired whether he had heard it from az-Zuhri, he replied that he had neither heard it from az-Zuhri nor from anybody who had heard from az-Zuhri, but he learnt it from 'Abd ar-Razzāq⁷ who heard

¹ 'Ā'isha was the wife of the Prophet and the daughter of Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddiq. She died A.H. 58, A.D. 677. Ibn Qutaiba, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, p. 65.

² The technical name of such a kind of book amongst the traditionists is '*Wajāda*'.

³ Ishāq bin Rāshid al-Jazarī was a pupil of az-Zuhri (died A.H. 125, A.D. 742). He died at Sijistan in the reign of Abū Ja'far (Maṣṣūr the 'Abbaside Caliph A.H. 136-158, A.D. 754-775). *Tahdhīb at-Tahdhīb*, vol. I, p. 230.

⁴ Faṭr bin Khalifa al-Qurashī al-Makhzūmī died A.H. 155, A.D. 771 or as some say A.H. 153, A.D. 769. *Tahdhīb at-Tahdhīb*, vol. VIII, p. 300 and *Mizān al-I'tidāl*, vol. II, p. 335.

⁵ Sufyān bin 'Uayayna al-Hilālī died A.H. 198, A.D. 813. *Mizān al-I'tidāl*, vol. I, p. 397.

⁶ Az-Zuhri's full name is Abū Bakr Muḥammad bin Muslim bin 'Ubadallāh bin 'Abdallāh bin Shihāb al-Qurashī az-Zuhri al-Madanī. He was a very reliable traditionist. Different dates are given about his birth and death. He was born A.H. 50 or 51 or 56 or 58 and died A.H. 123 or 124 or 125. *Tahdhīb at-Tahdhīb*, vol. IX, p. 450. Adh-Dhahabī in *Mizān al-I'tidāl*, vol. III, p. 126 says that he died A.H. 128, A.D. 745.

⁷ The full name of 'Abd ar-Razzāq is 'Abd ar-Razzāq bin Humām bin Nāfi' al-Ḥamyarī. He narrated Hadīth from Ma'mar and others.

it from Ma'mar¹ who learnt it from az-Zuhri. This kind of *Tadlis* is called *Tadlis Isqāṭ Adāt ar-Riwāya* (تدليس اسقاط اداة الرواية), i.e. the *Adāt ar-Riwāya* (اداة الرواية) or terms *al-khbarānā* or *haddathanā* are dropped.

(7) The narrator mentions the name of a famous place, but he does not mean that place, but another place of the same name. This the narrator does in order that people might know that he has wandered through distant places in search of *Hadīths*. This kind of *Tadlis* is called *Tadlis al-Bilād* (تدليس البلاد), e.g. an Egyptian traditionist said 'so and so narrated to him in 'Irāq' (حدثنا فلان بالعراق). By 'Irāq' he meant a place near Egypt known as *bākhmīm* and not the Persian 'Irāq.

II. *Tadlis in the Text.*

Tadlis in the text (تدليس في المتن) is also called *Mudraj fī'l Matn* (مدرج في المتن), i.e. inserted into the text (interpolation).

The narrator includes in the narration his own statement, or of some other persons, thereby making people to believe that it is also a part of the *Hadīth*. Such a kind of *Tadlis* might occur in :

- (1) the beginning of the text of *Hadīth* and is termed *Mudraj fī Awwal al-Matn* (مدرج في اول المتن).
- (2) the middle of the narration and termed *Mudraj fī Wasṭ al-Matn* (مدرج في وسط المتن).
- (3) the end of the narration and called *Mudraj fī Ākhir al-Matn* (مدرج في آخر المتن).

III. *Tadlis in the teacher from whom the tradition is learnt.*

The narrator narrates that he learnt the tradition from his teacher and instead of giving the familiar name of the teacher, he mentions his nick-name, or some other appellation, or some of his unfamiliar names. The narrator does this because the teacher might be a weak traditionist, and in this manner his weak points might escape attention, and the hearers might be led to think the *Hadīth* to be true. For example, a narrator might say that he heard the tradition from Hammād whose

He was born A.H. 126, A.D. 743 and died A.H. 211, A.D. 826. *Tahdhīb at-Tahdhīb*, vol. VI, p. 310.

¹ The full name of Ma'mar is Ma'mar bin Rāshid al-Azadi. He narrated *Hadīths* from az-Zuhri and others. He died A.H. 152 or A.H. 153 or A.H. 154 (A.D. 770). *Tahdhīb at-Tahdhīb*, vol. X, p. 243 and *ad-Dhahabī, Tadhhīrat al-Huffūz*, vol. I, p. 178.

familiar name was Muḥammad bin Sā'ib al-Kalabī¹ and who was accused of citing unreliable Ḥadīths.

These are the eleven kinds of *Tadlīs*.

Burhān ad-Dīn Al-Ḥalabī² in his work *at-Tab'īn li Asmā' al-Mudallīsīn* has said that³ *Tadlīs* had hardly occurred after 300 A.H. (A.D. 912). Al-Ḥākim⁴ has stated that he did not know in later traditionists anyone who had practised *Tadlīs* except Abū Bakr Muḥammad bin Muḥammad bin Sulaimān al-Bāghdādī.⁵

The first author⁶ who wrote a book on *Tadlīs* is al-Karābīsī⁷; he was followed by an-Nasā'ī,⁸ ad-Dāraquṭnī,⁹ al-Khaṭīb,¹⁰ al-Baḡhdādī¹¹ and Ibn 'Asākir.¹² Later authors who have

¹ Muḥammad bin Sā'ib al-Kalabī died A.H. 146, A.D. 763. *Shahḥarāt*, vol. I, p. 217 and *Mizān al-Itidāl*, vol. III, p. 61.

² See, for his life, p. 6, footnote 7.

³ See *Zaḥr al-Amānī fī Mukhtaṣar al-Jurjānī*, p. 213.

⁴ Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad bin 'Abdallāh al-Ḥākim an-Naisābūrī was born A.H. 321, A.D. 933. As a traditionist he gained a wide reputation in the Islāmic world. He died A.H. 405, A.D. 1014. *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, vol. III, p. 227.

⁵ Al-Bāghdādī died A.H. 312, A.D. 924. *Lisān al-Mizān*, vol. V, p. 360.

⁶ See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tabaqāt al-Mudallīsīn*, p. 2.

⁷ His full name is Abū 'Alī al-Husain bin 'Alī al-Karābīsī. He was a native of Baḡhdād and one of the Imām ash-Shāfi'ī's most distinguished disciples. He wrote works on that branch of science which is called *al-Jarḥ wa't Ta'dīl* (impeachment and justification) and on other subjects also. He died A.H. 245 (A.D. 859) or, according to a statement which appears more correct, A.H. 248 (A.D. 862). *Karābīsī* is formed from *Karābīs* which word designates clothes made of a sort of coarse cloth; the singular is *Kirbās* (the original Persian word is *Kirpās*). This doctor sold cloth of that sort and was therefore called al-Karābīsī. De Slane, Translation of Ibn Khallikān, vol. I, p. 416.

⁸ His full name is Abū 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Aḥmad bin Shu'aib an-Nasā'ī. He was born at Nasā' (a city in Khurāsān). A.H. 214 or 215 (A.D. 829 or 830) and was the chief traditionist of his age and author of a *Sunan* or collection of traditions. Ad-Dāraquṭnī declares him a martyr, on account of the trials he underwent at Damascus, and says that he died A.H. 303 (A.D. 915) at Mecca; others state that he died at Ramla in Palestine. De Slane, Ibn Khallikān, vol. I, p. 58.

⁹ The full name of ad-Dāraquṭnī is Abū'l Hasan 'Alī bin 'Umar. He was born A.H. 306, A.D. 918 in Baḡhdād at a Maḥalla named Dār al-Quṭn from which he is commonly known as ad-Dāraquṭnī. He received his education in Baṣra, Kūfa, Baḡhdād and Wāṣit and very soon his fame as a great scholar spread far and wide. He is the author of a large number of works and died A.H. 385, A.D. 995. S. Wajahat Husain, *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*; New Series, vol. XXX, 1934, p. 39.

¹⁰ For the works of al-Khaṭīb al-Baḡhdādī and Ibn 'Asākir on *Tabaqāt al-Mudallīsīn* see as-Suyūṭī, *Tadrib ar-Rāwī*, p. 81.

¹¹ The full name of al-Baḡhdādī is Abū Bakr Aḥmad bin 'Alī. He was born A.H. 329, A.D. 1002. He is considered a very reliable traditionist and historian. He died A.H. 463, A.D. 1071. Yāqūt, *Irshād al-Arīb*, vol. I, p. 246.

¹² The full name of Ibn 'Asākir is Abū'l Qāsim 'Alī bin al-Hasan. He was born A.H. 499, A.D. 1105. He received his education at Baḡhdād in the famous Nizāmiya College and became the most eminent traditionist

written on the subject are adh-Dhahabī,¹ al-'Alā'ī² and others. The works of the early authors are now not available.

Adh-Dhahabī wrote a treatise in poetry on *Tadlīs* (a portion of it is found in as-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. V, p. 218). Al-'Alā'ī has composed a treatise in prose under the title *Kitāb al-Mudallisin*³ and has added more names to those mentioned in adh-Dhahabī's poem. Al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Maḥmūd Aḥmad bin Ibrāhīm al-Maqdisī,⁴ a pupil of adh-Dhahabī, supplemented adh-Dhahabī's poem with materials from al-'Alā'ī's work in order to make the poem complete. Zain ad-Dīn al-'Irāqī⁵ added a few more names on the margin of al-'Alā'ī's book. A further supplement, as an independent treatise on the subject, has been attributed to Abū Zar'a.⁶ Al-Ḥalabī⁷ added more names to the last supplement and wrote a treatise under the

of his age. He died at Damascus A.H. 571, A.D. 1176. As-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. IV, p. 273.

¹ The full name of adh-Dhahabī is Shams ad-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad bin Aḥmad. He was born at Damascus A.H. 673, A.D. 1274. He studied under numerous scholars, served as a professor in several Madrasahs at Damascus and wrote many useful works. He was a well-known traditionist of his time. He died A.H. 748, A.D. 1348. As-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. V, p. 216.

² The full name of al-'Alā'ī is Ṣalāh ad-Dīn Abū Sa'īd Khalīl bin Kaikaldās al-'Alā'ī. He was born A.H. 694, A.D. 1295, and studied *Ḥadīth* under many scholars. In A.H. 718, A.D. 1318, he worked as a professor of *Ḥadīth* in the Madrasa an-Nāsiriya at Damascus. He died in Jerusalem A.H. 761, A.D. 1359. *Ad-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol. II, p. 90.

³ For the book see *Shadhārāt adh-Dhahab*, vol. VI, p. 191, and as-Sakhāwī, *ad-Daw' al-Lāmi*, vol. I, fol. 42b.

⁴ Aḥmad al-Maqdisī was born A.H. 648, A.D. 1250 and died A.H. 726, A.D. 1325. *Ad-Durar al-Kāmina*, vol. I, p. 90.

⁵ The full name of Zain ad-Dīn al-'Irāqī is Abū'l Faḍl 'Abd ar-Raḥīm bin al-Ḥusain al-'Irāqī. He was born in Mihrān (a place near Cairo), A.H. 725, A.D. 1325. As he was brought up in Irāq, he is known as al-'Irāqī. Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī describes him in *Inbā'* al-*Ghumar*, fol. 149, as the most eminent traditionist of his time. He died A.H. 806, A.D. 1403. *Husan al-Muhādara*, vol. I, p. 151.

⁶ The full name of Abū Zar'a is Walī ad-Dīn Abū Zar'a Aḥmad bin Zain ad-Dīn 'Abd ar-Raḥīm al-'Irāqī. He was born A.H. 762, A.D. 1362 and studied in Egypt under his father, Zain ad-Dīn al-'Irāqī, and others. He was Chief Justice of Egypt and was reckoned the equal of his father in *Ḥadīth*. He composed a number of useful works. In A.H. 810 he renewed the system of teaching *Ḥadīth* by means of dictation, which had been discontinued from A.H. 806 after his father's death. He died A.H. 826, A.D. 1422. As-Sakhāwī, *ad-Daw' al-Lāmi*, vol. I, fol. 47a.

⁷ The full name of al-Ḥalabī is Burhān ad-Dīn Abū'l Wafā' Ibrāhīm bin Muḥammad known as Sibṭ Ibn al-'Ajāmī, the grandson of Ibn al-'Ajāmī, as his mother belonged to al-'Ajāmī family of Ḥalab. He was born at Jullūm in Ḥalab A.H. 753, A.D. 1352. He distinguished himself in many branches of knowledge but outshone in *Ḥadīth*. He is the author of several works. He died A.H. 841, A.D. 1438. For details of his life see *Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal* (New Series), vol. XXIV, (1928), p. 363.

name *at-Tab'in li Asmā' al-Mudallisīn*,¹ while Ibn Ḥajar² al-'Asqalānī completed the list with the addition of more new names and wrote a book called *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-Mudallisīn*, or *Ta'rif ahl at-Taqdīs li Marātib al-Mawṣūfīn bi't Tadmīs*.³

The total number of names given in the book of al-'Alā'ī is 68. Abū Zar'a added 13 names, Halabī 32 and Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī 39. With all these additions the total number comes to 152. As-Suyūṭī⁴ also wrote two treatises on the subject entitled (a) *Kashf at-Talbīs 'an Qalb Ahl at-Tadmīs* and (b) *Risāla fi Asmā' al-Mudallisīn*.

It is needless to enumerate the names and other particulars of the 152 traditionists who practised *Tadmīs*. A detailed list of these traditionists is given in Ibn Ḥajar's *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-Mudallisīn*.

¹ For copies see Berlin Cat. No. 9946, Bodl., vol. II, No. 397, and Bankipore Cat., vol. XII, p. 55.

² The full name of Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī is Shihāb ad-Dīn Abū'l Faḍl Aḥmad bin 'Alī. He was born A.H. 773, A.D. 1372 and travelled in different Islamic countries to study *Ḥadīth*. He is the author of many useful works. As-Sakhāwī has written a book about his life and work which is called *al-Jawāhir wa'd Durar fi Tarjamat Shaiḫ al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar*. A copy of it exists in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris. See De Slane Cat. No. 2105. He died A.H. 852, A.D. 1449. *Al-Khifāt al-Jadīda*, vol. VI, p. 37.

³ It is printed in Egypt, A.H. 1322; see Sarkīs, p. 80.

⁴ The full name of as-Suyūṭī is Abū'l Faḍl Jalāl ad-Dīn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān bin Abī Bakr. He belonged to a Persian family who had been residing for three hundred years at Suyūt in Upper Egypt; but he himself was born in Cairo A.H. 849, A.D. 1445. He studied under renowned teachers in every branch of Islāmic learning. He wrote a larger number of books than any other Islāmic writer. He died A.H. 911, A.D. 1505. *Husn al-Muhādḍara*, vol. I, pp. 153, 203; vol. II, p. 65 and *Būhār Cat.* vol. II, p. 12.

Notes on a Fourth Tour in the District of Dinajpur.

By SARASI KUMAR SARASWATI.

In March last (1935), thanks to Mr. H. E. Stapleton, late Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, I had the good fortune of undertaking another trip in the district of Dinajpur, this time by the western bank of the river Chirāmati as the third was by its eastern.¹ This trip also proved singularly successful, like the previous ones, in revealing several other prospective sites for antiquarian and archaeological studies well worth fuller and more systematic exploration by experts. In my previous paper I have dwelt on the extreme importance of this little stream with its once flourishing settlements on its both banks. Its importance is now a thing of the past. The flourishing cities are dead and gone. Yet, to the local people, this stagnant stream still bears a high character for sanctity, almost on a par with the sacred Ganges, and a story is widely current regarding the origin of this little, but no less sanctified, stream.

In the Survey map, the river is shown to be rising suddenly out of nothing some 10 or 12 miles north of Kaliyagunj, a station on the Parvatipur-Katihar section of the Eastern Bengal Railway. Mr. Satyendra Nath Majumdar, M.A., Sub-Inspector of Schools, Raigunj Circle, Dinajpur, from whom I heard the story for the first time, informs me that the river comes out of a big north-and-south tank. The story is as follows: A Brahmin had a foster daughter named Śrīmati, who was a widow. Once the Brahmin intended to go on a pilgrimage, and, among other places, he intended visits to the holy Benares and Prayāga and dips in the sacred Ganges and Trivenī-Saṅgama. Śrīmati, widowed as she was, also longed for such a pilgrimage, but, being obliged to be left behind, she gave her foster father a flower to be given to Mother Ganges in her name. The Brahmin tied the flower in a corner of his scarf and set out on his holy travel. Eventually however he forgot his mission and, after a long absence from home, he came back with the flower still tied in his scarf. The widow discovered it, and her heart was almost broken to find her mission unfulfilled. But she told nothing to her foster father, took the flower from the knot, and went to the tank at the back of the house. There she prayed hard to the goddess

¹ For two previous papers by the writer on the antiquities of Dinajpur vide *J.P.A.S.B.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 173-183 and 185-195. For a map of the district vide Plate 4 of Mr. Stapleton's paper in the same number of the *Journal* (pp. 151-171).

Gaṅgā to accept her humble offering and threw the flower into the tank, hoping and praying that it should reach the Ganges. Before the flower dropped into the waters, a pair of divine hands appeared on the surface and caught the flower. Immediately the waters of the tank swelled up and flowed down in a mighty torrent, carrying the flower, and the widow too, as if to meet the Ganges far down in the south.

ITĀHĀR.

The Police outpost of Itāhār is some 14 miles south of Raigunj, the last station in the Dinajpur district on the Parvatipur-Katihar section. The name *Itāhār* (literally 'string of bricks') comes, so the local people say, from numerous old bricks to be found all around the village and the surrounding region, either strewn all over the surface or buried only a little below the ground level. The village contains several north-and-south tanks, of which a few are fairly big. In one or two remains of pucca *ghāts*, now hidden underground, may be traced. It was from here that a colossal image of Vishṇu in black basalt and of exquisite decorative workmanship was recovered in 1933 for the Indian Museum by Mr. J. C. Majumdar, the then Sub-Divisional Officer of Dinajpur. The image was lying under a peepul tree by the side of the Patirāj-Chudāman road, which crosses the north and south Rāigunj-Gājol road at Itāhār. The image was the object of veneration of the cowherd boys of the locality and was reported to have been found as a result of a chance digging in one of the two adjacent mounds. The mounds are now overgrown with jungle and are still fairly high, about 30 feet in perpendicular height from the surface level. They are full of bricks : but the unfortunate feature is that I could not get an entire brick above ground so as to have the measurement. They are however very thick, generally 3 inches. A huge, but plain, stone pillar can still be seen lying on the top of one of the mounds.

When Mr. Majumdar removed the colossal image the cowherd boys looked for another *pāshāṇa* (stone image) in a mound and were fortunate enough to find a black basalt pedestal of an image (Pl. 1, Fig. 1), the main figure of which is missing from above the waist. The *saptaratha* pedestal is heavily decorated and consists of two vertical courses. The lower one consists of an elephant in full front view in the centre, flanked by two *ganas* (dwarfed demigods) resting on their staffs. The intermediate facets are occupied by two lions while the outer ones have Garuḍa to proper right and a pot-bellied figure with garland to proper left. The Garuḍa, evidently intended as the carrier, points out the deity proper, which is missing, as Vishṇu, the protector of the Universe. Above it we have the full blown lotus seat (*mahāmbujapīṭha*) supported by a *nāga* (snake) couple, flanked by two other smaller lotuses intended for the attendant figures. The deity

sits on the principal seat with crossed legs. He has four hands. The normal hands are placed on the lap in *dhyānamudrā* (pose of meditation). The additional left hand rests on the knee with palm turned outwards and bears a *chakra* (discus) with a figure in relief (*Chakrapurusha*, i.e. *Chakra* personified) within it. The attribute in the remaining hand cannot be recognized. In all probability it held a *śaṅkha* (conchshell). The attendant figures on both sides are also broken away, but that to the proper right can still be recognized as that of Sarasvatī from the *vīṇā* (Indian lyre) held by a hand, portions of which still remain. The main figure is heavily jewelled—*nupura* (anklet), *keyūra* (bracelet), etc. being still visible.

That the missing figure represented the great god Viṣṇu there can be no doubt. The vehicle, Garuḍa, the *chakra* as one of the attributes in one of the hands and Sarasvatī as an attendant figure unmistakably lead us to that conclusion. But here we have a new form, quite a unique type—in striking contrast to the two or three hackneyed types that we are accustomed to in Bengal. In his *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, part 2, Appendix C, p. 20, Mr. T. A. Gopinath Rao quotes a *dhyāna* of Yogāsana Viṣṇu, in which Viṣṇu is to be sculptured as seated crosslegged with the front hands in *yogamudrā* (pose of meditation) pose. It is however distinctly stated there that *śaṅkha* and *chakra* ought not to be placed in the hands of this class of Viṣṇu. Again Mr. Rao refers to another *dhyāna* in the *Siddhārtha Saṁhitā* which prescribes *śaṅkha* and *chakra* in the two additional hands. (*Ibid.*, Vol. I, part I, p. 87.) The image of Yogāsana *mūrti* from Bagali reproduced by him (Pl. XXIV) is an example of this type. The image under notice, although it differs slightly as to the position of the two additional hands, may also be assigned to the same class. It is perhaps a form of Viṣṇu influenced by the meditative aspect of Buddhism. The execution and decoration ascribe the sculpture to the 12th century A.D.

Close to the market place at Itāhār a small bust of an image under a tree is the object of much awe and veneration for the local rustics, who occasionally bathe it with pigeon's blood. The miniature is of fine workmanship and may be dated in the 11th century A.D. It is remarkable for the peaceful aspect of the eyes and face, which indicates the image as that of a *Yogin*, a theory also substantiated by the *jaṭāmukuta* (crown of matted hair). The absence of the third eye on the forehead should preclude us from identifying it with Śiva. The alternative is to identify it with a Buddhist deity, either Avalokiteśvara or Mañjuśrī, and in that case, an occasional bath with blood is a most unseemly form of worship. Another Buddhist deity found at Itāhār is a miniature image of Tārā seated in *lalitāsana*, with her right hand resting on the knee in *varada* (gift-bestowing) pose and the left holding a *nilotpala* (blue water lily). Above her head is shown a miniature *stūpa*.

An elevated tract in the eastern part of the village is still known as the *Rājbarī* (palace) by the local people. The whole area, now full of brickbats and potsherds, has been under plough for years together and the area and elevation are annually being reduced. Report goes that bricks can be obtained in enormous quantity from this place by a little digging. The size of these bricks, if the local people are to be believed, are unusually large. Several big bricks, now forming a sort of platform round a well in the house of a cultivator, are reported to have come from the *Rājbarī* mound and they measure approximately $13 \times 12 \times 3$ ". Further east, just by the side of the Gājol road, there is the *thān* of Śmaśānakālī, where there are a few fragments of images including a sandstone liṅga. In the *thānā* (Police Station) compound there are also several images, of which one of Sūryya and another of Mahishamarddinī are worth noticing.

BHADRAŚILĀ.

About a mile to the east of Itāhār lies the big village of Bhadraśilā, undulating throughout, containing large but low mounds full of bricks and stones. The most curious thing is that the whole area of the village, comprising about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles by 1 mile, is covered with bricks and stones. A quarter of a mile to the east of the Gājol road there rests under a banyan tree a much mutilated image of Aghora-Rudra, now known to the local people as Durgā Mahishamarddinī. It is under so-called worship, the god receiving a few flowers and water only on a few days of the year. Otherwise it is quite neglected, lying at the mercy of the weeds and hanging roots of the banyan tree, which have almost shielded the image from public gaze. The front of the image has been nearly completely chipped off. The god stands in *pratyālīḍha* (archer's pose) trampling under his feet two demons, whom he is fighting to destroy. In this act he is also being assisted by his bull, which, standing on the prostrate body of one of the demons, tears his chest with its horns. The god is three-eyed and eight-handed, and among the weapons, bow and arrow, sword, trident, shield, etc. can still be recognized. The slab is rounded with an incised scroll at the edge. In point of execution it can be dated in the 10th century A.D. This representation corresponds to two *dhyānas* of the god occurring in the *Prapañchasāra* and *Śāradātīlaka tantras*. This particular form of Śiva is rather rare and the present image, barring minor differences, is identical with a similar specimen from Ghatnagar (Dinajpur District) in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi (Sanyal, N. B., *Aghora-Rudra, Monographs of the V.R. Society, Rajshahi*, No. 5, pp. 30-34, fig. 9) and another in the Dacca Museum (Bhattacharya, N. K., *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahminical sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Pl. XLVIII, fig. a).

From Aghora-Rudra I passed due east along a brick-strewn path to see the shrine of Bhadrā and Bhadrī, from which, according to the local people, the name of the village has come. The *thān* of Bhadrā is a small dilapidated temple, of which the walls to some extent and the floor are still preserved. Some stones have been used in the construction of the plinth, and on the floor can be seen an image lying in three fragments. It appears to be an image of the Sun-god *Sūryya*. The shrine of Bhadrī, situated under a bush a little further on, contains another sandstone image of the same god, of an earlier date (c. 9th century A.D.). There is still another shrine within the village, that of Dakṣiṇakālīkā, where an image of the river goddess Gaṅgā, gracefully standing on the back of her vehicle, the Makara, represents to the people the Dakṣiṇakālīkā, after whom the shrine is named. Though mutilated (both hands of the goddess and the mouth of the Makara being gone and faces of all the figures abraded), the sculpture is worth more than a passing notice for its elegant and graceful workmanship. The image was to some extent entangled in the roots of the tree, under which it was placed and it was with much difficulty that I was able to extricate it. But for this timely intervention, the image, I am afraid, would have been broken to pieces under pressure of the tree within a year or two, and a pleasing specimen of Bengal art would have been lost for ever. There is, I am told, a big *jagir* for this shrine. Yet the people are so superstitious and apathetic that they would not do anything to save the deity from ruin and destruction. To them this interference on my part was sacrilege, and, instead of helping me in the least, the crowd that gathered waited breathless for some miraculous thing to happen to prevent me from performing this irreligious act. How many valuable relics are thus gradually being lost to us! Everywhere it is the same story. In each ancient site there is a *thān* (open shrine) or two, where every image found in the locality is deposited. The images are thus under so-called worship, receiving a few flowers and water a few days in the year, and as such are too sanctified to be removed elsewhere. In reality there is no proper worship, no proper arrangement for their protection from sun, rain or other natural agencies, or even from the vandalism of the image breaker. Under these circumstances, the relics, that lie scattered in distant villages, are gradually being lost to us and it is time that we should strive in earnest for their removal to a public museum or at least for their better preservation and protection.

The goddess (Pl. 1, Fig. 2) stands in slight *tribhāṅga*, and in three quarter profile on the back of her vehicle, flanked by two female attendants, of whom, one to the proper left holds an umbrella over her head, while that to the right fans her with a flywhisk. On the back portion of the slab may be seen the usual *Gajasimha*, the throne-back with the *makara* lintel, *kinnara* and

kinnarī, *vidyādhara* couples and the *kirttimukha* top. The goddess has the usual ornaments, but the grace of form and the elegance of pose are not overshadowed by the exuberance of decorative details on the background—the characteristic feature of the art of the 12th century A.D. to which period the image may be assigned from stylistic indications. The name Bhadrāśilā is interesting, but my enquiries have failed as regards any tradition regarding the origin of the name. Whatever the origin, there is no doubt as regards the antiquity of the village. The extensive elevated tracts, as hard as rammed concrete from accumulation of brickbats on the surface, the finds of numerous bricks on a little digging, fragments and images lying scattered around the village, abundance of north-and-south tanks (Sarai *dighi*, the big tank just by the side of the Gājol road, is, however, east to west) and last, the peculiar name of the village (*cf.* Takshaśilā) all point to an unmistakable Hindu antiquity of which further traces and materials for its ancient history are expected to be unveiled on proper exploration and excavation of the site.

BANKUR.

Bankur is a little village on the Raigunj road about 2 to 3 miles north-east of Itāhār. Just on the outskirts of the village there rests under a tree a big image of Sūryya, remarkable for its elegant execution and perfect preservation. The usual attributes and attendants—such as the two lotuses with stalks (*sanālapadma*) in two hands, Daṇḍī, Piṅgala and the two queens, the seven-horsed chariot, etc.—of Sūryya all conform to the sāstric injunction, and in point of execution it is an exact parallel to the Baghaura image of Vishṇu, dated in the third year of King Mahīpāla I of Bengal. On that account it can safely be dated towards the end of the 10th century A.D.

SONĀPUR.

A little to the north of Bankur at a place called Bāgbāri a road bifurcates from the Rāigunj road towards the north-east, and passes through Chāloneā, Bānboil, Sonāpur, etc. to meet the Churāman-Kāliyāgunj road, which crosses the Rāigunj road at Durgāpur, further to the north. This road, known as the Mukhḍum road, has traces of brick pavings on it. At Sonāpur there are several smaller mounds and the area is undulating throughout. The village shrine is known as the *Navadurgār thān* (*i.e.* the shrine of Navadurgā) and contains a number of ancient images, such as Umā-Maheśvara, Vishṇu, Gaurī, Mother and Child, etc. According to the *Rupamaṇḍana*, Gaurī is a general appellation for the placid form of Durgā. She has a mongoose (*Godhā*) as her vehicle (*cf.* *Godhāsanā bhaved=Gaurī*). She has several particular forms such as Umā, Pārvatī, Lalitā, etc. according to the variations of the attributes held in the

hands. This particular specimen at Sonāpur has a mongoose carved on the pedestal. The goddess stands upright on the open lotus, flanked by Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya, and has four hands. The lower right hand is in *varada* (gift bestowing pose), upper right, holds *akṣhamālā* (rosary) and Śivaliṅga (phallic emblem of Śiva), upper left *triśūla* (trident) and the lower left *kamaṇḍalu* (waterpot). Flames of fire are incised on her two sides. Such images are rather common in North Bengal, the Museum of the Varendra Research Society alone possessing four or five specimens, and I have noticed others lying uncared for in many of the ancient villages of Varendra. From the description it appears that these images correspond to the particular form of Pārvatī, whose *dhyāna* is thus given in Hemādri's *Vratakhanda*, Vol. I, pp. 86-87.

Akṣhasūtram Śivam devam Gaṇādhyakṣham kamaṇḍalum |
Agnikuṇḍadvayam pārśve Pārvatī parvatod-bhavā ||

Gaṇeśa of course is absent as an attribute in the present image but he appears as one of the attendant figures. It is probable that this image was the principal deity in the *thān*. The *thān* itself consists of a square platform built of older materials on a mound. Close to this there is again a smaller platform, which also contains several hopelessly mutilated fragments. Of these, the bottom of a pilaster (?) is worth noticing for its bold and elegant mouldings.

Just to the east of the road there is a high mound full of bricks, and at the foot of it there are two images of Sūryya of fairly early period. They are executed in relief on asymmetrical slabs of coarse-grained sandstone, now badly weathered, and the smaller one closely resembles in style another image of Sūryya dated in the 26th year of king Dharmapāla (*A.S.I., Ann. Rep.*, 1908-09, p. 148, fig. 3). From stylistic indications therefore, it is assignable to the eighth century A.D. In each of the specimens (Pl. 2, Fig. 3) Sūryya stands on a low plinth between two attendants, Daṇḍī and Piṅgala, and is dressed in a low flat cap and a long tunic fastened at the waist with a string belt. His articles of jewellery include earrings, necklace and bracelets, and he and his attendants have high boots. The hair falls in ringlets over the ears. As usual he holds a pair of lotuses, but the two queens, the horses and the charioteer, Aruṇa are not shown. The bigger image shows us a comparatively slender and taller figure, and is probably a little later in date.

About three quarters of a mile to the south of *Navadurgār thān*, on the high embankment of a tank (north-and-south) there was a mutilated image of Revanta, worshipped by the local Muhammadans as *Ghoḍāpīr*. It is well known that in Varāhamihira's *Bṛihat Samhitā*, Revanta, the son of Sūryya, is described as mounted on horseback accompanied by a hunting party (cf. *Revanto 'śvāruḍho-mṛigayākrīḍādīparivārah*—Chap. 57,

verse 56). The present image (Pl. 2, Fig. 4) conforms to this description of Varāhamihira. The base of the sculpture exhibits a frieze of dancing musicians, a bowman and boar. Above this, Revanta is represented in profile, mounted on a caparisoned horse. His right foot on the stirrup rests on the head of a boar, while another boar is being trampled upon by the horse with its front foot. In his right hand the god holds an uncertain object (perhaps a cup with a lid), and in the left the reins. This may represent *madhupātra* (cup of honey) which the god is sometimes enjoined to bear. An attendant from behind raises an umbrella over his head (now missing). This indicates his royal rank. Four other attendants, with various weapons for the hunt, accompany the god. It is carved in black basalt and appears to date from the 10th century A.D. The treatment of the bodily form is characterized by vigour and energy, and all the figures indicate a clear understanding of pose and movement. A little to the south of this tank there is the *āstanāh* (abode) of *Ghoḍāpār*, where, among hundreds of clay images of horses and elephants, may be seen a fine black basalt image of Kārttikeya, the god of war, seated at ease on the outstretched wings of his vehicle, the *mayūra* (peacock).

YOGIPĀRĀ.

The road to Bāigungaon starts from the Itāhār-Patirāj road a little to the east of Bhadrāsīlā and runs south. It is known as the road of Sevakram Chaudhuri, a fabulously wealthy resident of Bhadrāsīlā according to local tradition, who constructed this road about a hundred years ago for easy communication to Bāigungaon. The last-named place was a great trade centre in those days, and its Rānī, Dayāmayī Chaudhurānī, was an intimate acquaintance of his. The village of Yogipārā lies just contiguous to Bāigungaon on the north. By the side of the road there is the shrine of Śmaśānakālīkā, where an image of the fierce god Bhairava, lying under a tree, is pointed out by the local people as Śmaśānakālī, the presiding deity of the *thān*. In a hut close by there are three rather large images—two of which represent the Sun-god *Sūryya*. Indeed it appears that in this part of the country the cult of Sūryya, as contrasted to that of Viṣṇu, was widely prevalent. Such an inference is clearly demonstrated by the presence of numerous images of the Sun-god or images concerned with his cult throughout the particular area that I selected for my present trip.

A quarter of a mile to the east of this *thān* was found a grey sandstone image of Buddha, half buried under earth, on the bank of a tank, much overgrown with jungle. The image is locally known as 'Bhairo Bābā' and the story goes that a person afflicted with deafness can be cured if he smears the image with mud and weeds of the tank. On recovery he is enjoined to

wash the image clean and to dedicate some offerings (generally some fruits) to the deity. The image (Pl. 3, Fig. 5) is fairly early in date and shows the god seated in *bhūmisparsāmudrā* (earth-touching attitude), which signifies his enlightenment at Bodhgayā. I dug out the image in search of an inscription, which, however, is wanting; but, from stylistic indications and from its simple but elegant execution, the image can on no account be dated later than the ninth century A.D.

BĀIGUNGĀON.

The village of Bāigungāon, six miles from Itāhār to south-east, is known as the residence of Rānī Dayāmayī Chaudhurānī, still in living memory. Her husband's name was Ramprasād Sinha, but she was widowed very early in life. According to some she had a daughter, while others say that she was childless and adopted a son, who, by his reckless expenditure, ruined the property. The original residence of the family was somewhere in the Murshidabad District, perhaps Jajān in the Kandi subdivision. The palace of the Rānī is still to be found covered with thick jungle and in ruins. Just in front of the palace there is a big tank (N×S) known as *Rānī dighi* or the Rānī's tank, where, the people say, there was a large marble stool (used by the Rānī for her bath), which was removed by the Ghughudanga Zemindars. In my previous report I recorded the tradition ascribing all the neighbouring ruins, such as Mahendra, Surohor, etc. to the Rānī of Bāigungāon. But she was certainly a recent character, and Bāigungāon itself contains nothing of pre-Muhammadan antiquity, except a sandstone image of a Liṅgam with Śaktis (c. 9th century A.D.—For a description reference may be made to the previous report, *J.P.A.S.B.*, Vol. XXVIII, 1932, p. 189), which again might have come from some place in the neighbourhood. The tradition ascribing the neighbouring ruins, which are certainly pre-Muhammadan, to Bāigungāon is thus obviously wrong. In Rennell's Map the place seems to have been an important one. Several roads from different directions converge at this point. One road from Panduah, running north from Myna and Bygongong to Meerjaserra(i), and then, turning east, leads to Dinajpur and Rungpur. From Meerjaserra(i), this road bifurcates towards Hemtabad. From Bygongong another road runs due west to Churāman and thence, with a little bend towards the north-west, goes ultimately to Purneah. Though it is a little difficult to trace all the alignments of these old roads, some can still be traced, and the present roads in many places closely follow the old alignments.

SHĀDEĀ.

It is a big village on the river Chirāmatī, some two miles to the north-east of Bāigungāon. This village has also an

ancient appearance, with small mounds and brick-strewn undulating tracts. There are two shrines in the village where images and other stones can be found. The shrine on the river bank is on a high mound where architectural stones can be traced here and there. Of the images, which are not many, two are worth mentioning. One is a big torso of a mutilated image of Tārā of beautiful workmanship, and the other is a miniature image of Revanta in grey sandstone, very badly weathered and dating from about the ninth century A.D. The god rides a horse, which bends down under his weight, with the left hand holding the reins and the right swinging the lash, to goad on the charger. Only one attendant appears on this slab holding an umbrella over the head of the god.

Within the village there is another shrine where there are a fair number of images, mostly mutilated. Of these only two require a passing mention. One is a miniature image of Sūryya in sandstone of about the ninth century date. It is much abraded, and the iconographic details correspond to those of the two images from Sonāpur. The other (Pl. 3, Fig. 6) is part of a grey sandstone frieze with three figures—two male and one female—on horseback. The male figures hold swords or staves in the right hands, and reins in the left. The female holds reins in the left and an uncertain object in the right. All the figures appear to have umbrellas over their heads. Other details, if any, have disappeared, and it is difficult to ascertain the iconographic identity of this group.

In my third tour (March, 1933) I visited Surohor, about two miles south of Shādeā, and Mahendra, just opposite to Surohor beyond the river, where I found numerous sculptures, of which a few proved to be quite unique (*J.P.A.S.B.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 190–194, pl. 8, figs. 3 and 4, pl. 9, fig. 1). In the present trip (March, 1935) I again visited the two places and was shocked to find almost all the sculptures, that I found entire during my previous visit, battered to pieces. Strange to say, the local people, who regard these stones as so many sacred properties of the village and do not allow any one to remove them elsewhere, profess to know nothing as to who perpetrated this heinous crime. The almost total destruction leaves no doubt that it was intentional and the work of some modern fanatic. It proves that the iconoclastic spirit of the early invaders is not yet dead. Rather, it has been strongly manifested of late, and unless we can arrange to preserve and protect the numerous relics, lying scattered and uncared for in the different so-called village *thāns*, from the hands of modern iconoclasts many of the priceless treasures of antiquity will soon be lost for ever.

DHULOHĀR.

Last, though not the least, I come to the village of Dhulohār (Dhoonhār of the Survey Map) four or five miles to the west of

Itāhār. To reach it one has to pass through Khāmārooā, just contiguous to Itāhār to the west, on the opposite bank of the river Chāmār. At Khāmārooā there is a small black stone image of Sūryya preserved in the Kālibāri, while a big Navagraha slab is hopelessly entangled in the roots of a large banyan tree in the eastern outskirts of the village. Almost the whole of the slab is now in the coils of the roots, only a small portion, containing the Gaṇeśa and some part of the Sun-god, being visible.

The site of Dhulohār appears to be a very important one. It is a vast elevated area of about two miles by three miles covered with dense jungle, which is impossible to penetrate into without the help of elephants. The slopes of this elevated tract are gradually coming under plough and are literally strewn over with brickbats and potsherds. The old people of the locality affirm that in the jungles there are big tanks and innumerable *pāshāṇas* and bricks. Just to the east of the site there is a vast tank about half a mile in length. From it two ditches, one in the north and the other in the south, have joined the Kulik river, running by the west side of the site, thus encircling and forming a sort of fortification for the entire area. Paved brick-on-edge streets can be traced and there are remains of a pucca *ghāt* on the river. I visited a small mound on the western slope of the site, where the jungle has recently been cleared by the villagers for using the mound as a *thān*, and another on the opposite bank of the river just by the side of the Durgapur-Churāman road, both full of bricks and stones.

A tradition is widely prevalent that the site of Dhulohār was the capital of one Dhulpaṭ Rāj, the exact time of his reign being unknown. The highest peak of that elevated site is known, according to local tradition, to be the palace of that monarch. The tradition is so strong that it is said that an image of Viṣṇu, found in that area, bore the name of Dhṛupāl Rājā (from which the corrupted Dhulpaṭ Rāj), who was alleged to be connected with the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. I however could not find the image in question, and there are grave doubts whether really any such image bearing such a name had ever been found.

From the foregoing pages it is apparent that the area traversed during this short trip was once full of ancient and prosperous settlements adorned with imposing palaces, beautiful temples and large tanks. Its ancient magnificence is now a thing of the past, and its history has been lost and buried in oblivion. The whole tract is now a mere woodland of ruined mounds and half-silted-up tanks. The relics that lie above ground fully demonstrate the antiquity and importance of the different sites, which, if properly explored and excavated, are expected to yield valuable and interesting results for the history of this part of the country, and, it may be, even for the history of Bengal.

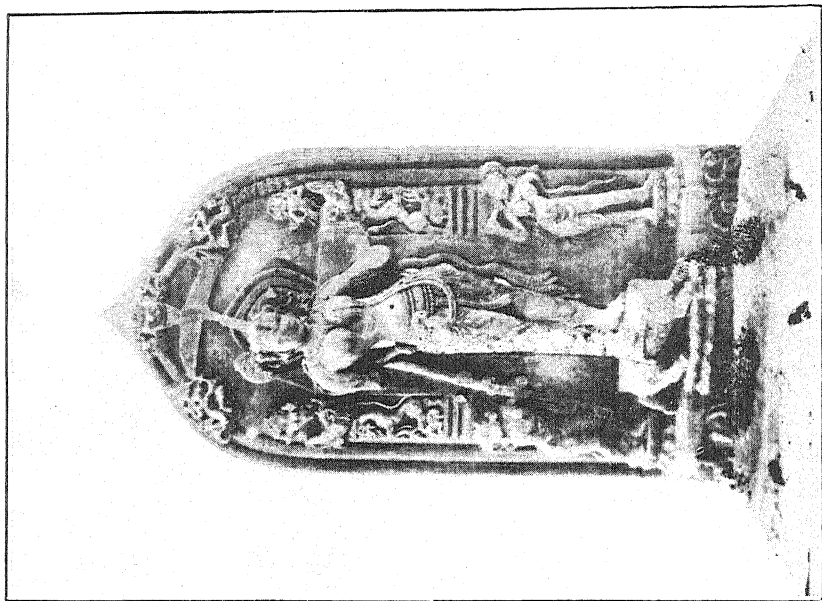


FIG. 2. Gangā (Bhadraśīlā).

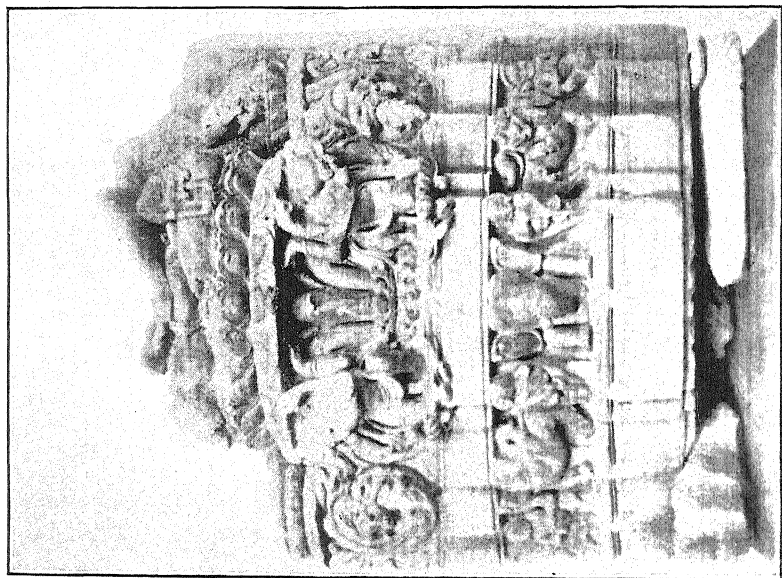


FIG. 1. Yogāsana Viṣṇu (Iṭhār).

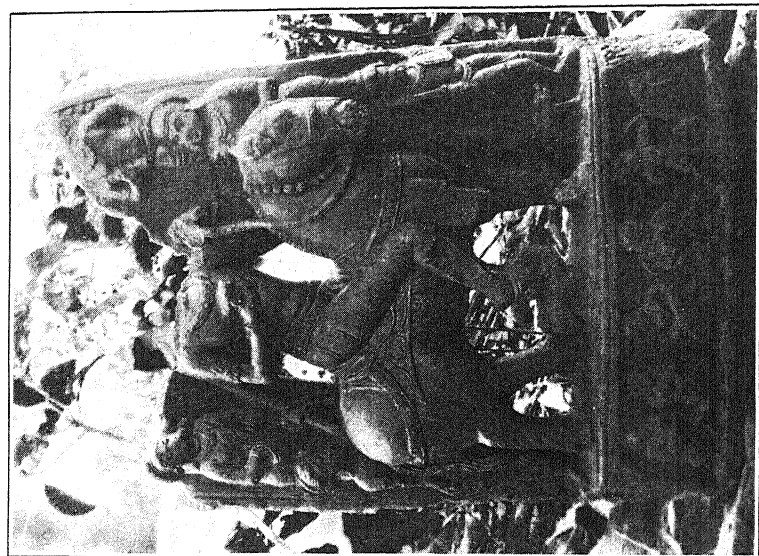


FIG. 4. Revanta (Sonapur).

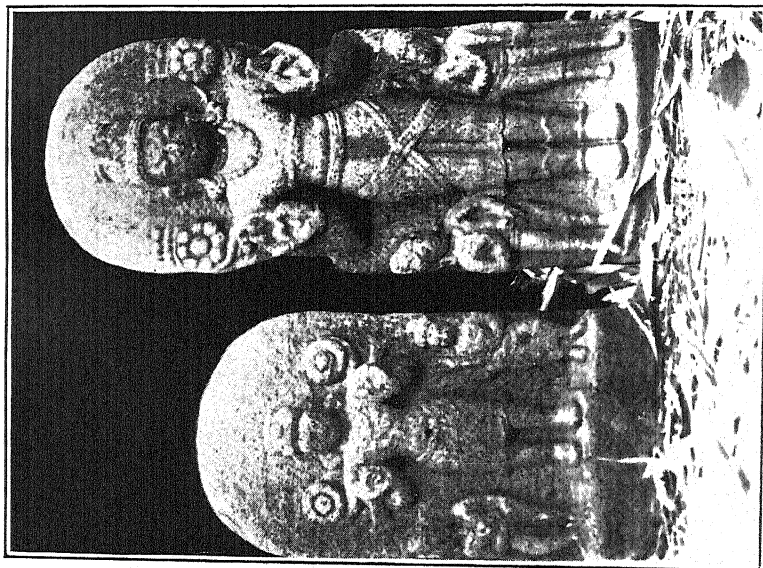


FIG. 3. Sūryya (Sonapur).

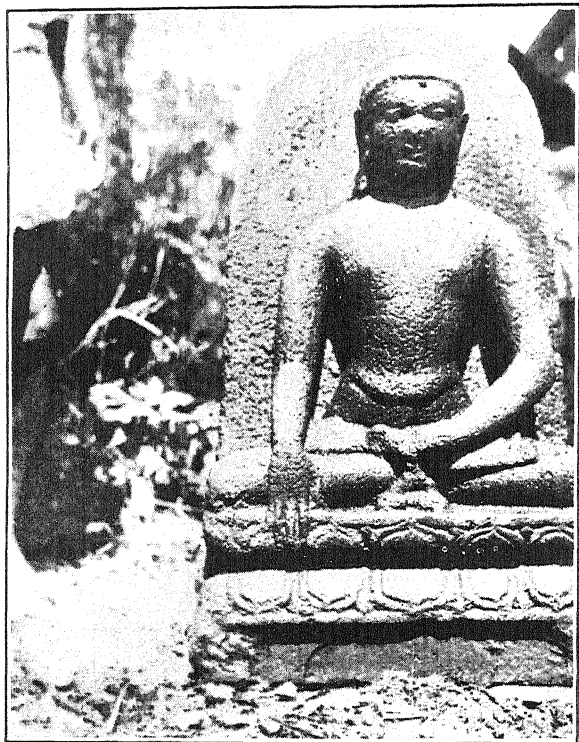
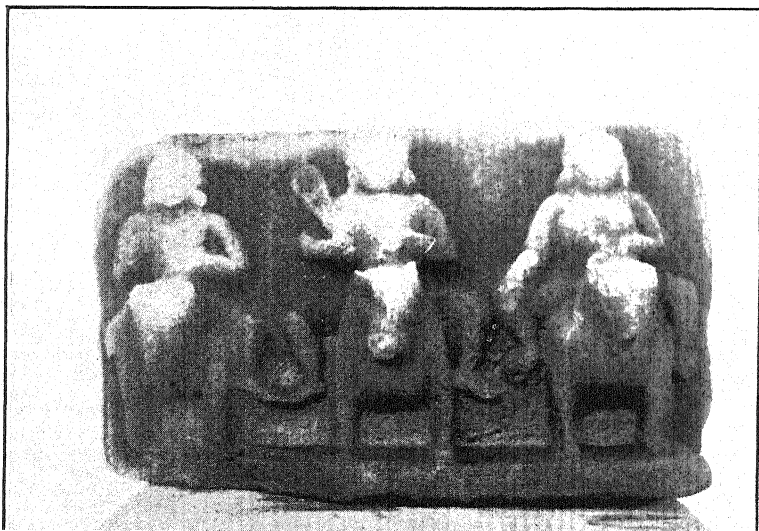


FIG. 5. Buddha (Yogipārā).





Two Inscriptions from Barakar.

BY S. N. CHAKRAVARTI.

The two inscriptions under discussion are written on the right door-jamb of the Gaṇeśa temple in the Begunia group of four temples at Barakar in the District of Burdwan. The temples were first described by Beglar in 1872-73¹ and subsequently by Dr. Bloch in 1902-03.² An account of the epigraphs was given by Mr. K. N. Dikshit in 1922-23.³ I now edit them for the first time from an ink-impression kindly lent to me by the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle. For a number of suggestions I am indebted to Dr. R. G. Basak, M.A., Ph.D., Senior Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Calcutta.

The inscriptions are dated. The earlier of them gives Wednesday, the eighth of the bright half of the lunar month Phālguna in the Śaka Year 1383 counted by the figures represented by *nētra* (3), *vasu* (8), *tri* (3), and *chandra* (1). Dr. Bloch took this date to correspond either to the 18th February, or to the 4th March, 1462 A.D. Mr. K. N. Dikshit has, however, correctly shown that it corresponds to the 18th February, 1461 A.D. The second inscription is dated Wednesday, the seventh of the bright half of the lunar month Agraḥāyana in the Śaka Year 1468 counted by the figures represented by *vasu* (8), *rasa* (6), *samudra* (4), and *chandra* (1). The equivalent English date works out as the 29th December, 1546 A.D.⁴

The inscriptions are important on palaeographical grounds. The earlier of them shows final changes leading up to the modern Bengali writing in the other. It is worth mentioning here that on the style of the characters Chandidāsa's Kṛṣṇakirtana in the collection of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat can be assigned to the date of the first inscription and Raghunandan's Dharmapūjāvidhi in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, which has been assigned by Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri to the early nineteenth century, to that of the second one.

The first inscription, which covers a space of about

¹ Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Report, Vol. VIII, pp. 150 ff.

² Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Bengal Circle, 1902, p. 29; 1903, p. 13. See Sarasvati, *J. Ind. Soc. Ori. Art.*, I, p. 114 f.

³ Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1922-23, p. 110.

⁴ See L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. V, p. 295.

1' 6"×0' 7", is in 12 lines in fairly good script; the second one, which occupies an area of about 2' 3"×0' 7", is in 21 lines in very cursive script.

The characters of the inscriptions are Bengali. The palaeography calls for some remarks. The length of the initial *ai*, as in *aiśam* (ll. 6-7), is denoted by adding the curved upward stroke to the vertical straight line, which stands on the right side of the main body of the letter. The two limbs are joined by a short horizontal line, which is slightly slanting. Not infrequently the *i*-mātrā is expressed by a full length vertical straight line joined to the left end of the top line, as in *siṭē* (l. 15). The old forms of the *u*-mātrā by a curve to the right or a hollow triangle to the left attached to the lower extremity of the letter, still survive, as in *guṇitē* (l. 2) and *puṇyē* (l. 3). In *ru*, as in *ruchiram* (l. 4) and *gurudvine* (l. 17), the sign for the vowel-mark of *u* is the precursor of the modern Bengali one. The *ū*-mātrā, as in *bhūriśriyō* (l. 9), is indicated by a curve to the left, which is attached to the lower extremity of the letter. The *anusvāra* with only a small circle above or below the top line and on the right side of the letter is still to be seen. The modern Bengali sign is found in *dēvakulam* (l. 7) and *phalam* (l. 11). In *dēvam* (l. 26) the *anusvāra* is, however, indicated by the old form of the letter *ma* (cf. Buhler, Table III), which is placed below the sign for the *anusvāra* in *pryām* (l. 25) in the immediately preceding line, surely for want of space. It may be mentioned here that the top line of *pa* in *pryām* (l. 25) is also placed after the sign for the *anusvāra* in *Harapadaviditām* (l. 24) in the immediately preceding line. The peculiar forms of *ka*, as in *dēvakulam* (l. 7) and *viprakulē* (l. 20), and *khaṇḍita ta*, as in *tat* (l. 31), call for notice. Other peculiar forms are *nda*, as in *chanda* (l. 14) and *Nanda* or *Nandva* (ll. 22, 27), *ccaiḥ*, as in *uccaiḥ* (l. 11), and *śrī*, as in *Śrī Nandanāmadhēyām* (ll. 21-22). In *ccaiḥ* the sign for the half-visarga, which is of the *upadhmāniya* class, is joined to *ccai* by means of a hyphen in the middle. In the first inscription *na* and *ṇa* are distinguished. The dental *na* has the modern Bengali form of the letter and the cerebral *ṇa* is the modern Bengali *la* without the top line. In the second inscription the same form is used for *na* and *ṇa*. We find, however, two forms of the dental *na* :—(1) the modern Bengali form, (2) the old form in which the loop has become separated from the main body of the letter and attached to the right vertical straight line by a short horizontal straight line, as in *nṛpatē* (l. 29). No difference is made, as is the case even in much older records of Bengal, between *ba* and *va* in either record. There occur three different forms of *ra* :—(1) with a dot inside the triangle, as in *Haripriyā* (l. 10); (2) with a slanting cross-bar, as in *Hara* (l. 18); (3) without a dot or a cross-bar, as in *Harischandrasya* (l. 8). The *repha* is indicated, as in modern Bengali, by a slanting upward stroke (*mārgagē*

in ll. 15-16). The *ta*-shaped form of *la* has been used in all cases. The palatal *śa* in the first inscription differs but little from the modern Bengali form of the letter. The separate curve attached to the lower end of the left limb has changed into two small circles. But the two semi-circles in the upper part of the letter are still to be seen.

As regards punctuation we find that in the first inscription the *Ardhvirāma*, i.e. half-stop, is indicated by a full length vertical straight line and the *Pūrṇavirāma*, i.e. full-stop, by two similar straight lines. The second inscription does not, however, show these marks.

The language is Sanskrit. The first inscription consists of a single verse and the metre employed is *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*. The second inscription consists of two and a half verse. But it is so corrupt that the lines cannot be scanned. The metres employed seem to be *Śṛagdhara* in the first verse and *Anuṣṭubh* in the remaining one and a half verse.

There are several mistakes of orthography in the second inscription. Thus we find *r* for *ri* in *pryām* (l. 25); *n* for *ṇ* in *ganitē* (ll. 14-15) and *punyē* (l. 18); *s* for *ś* in *sākē* (l. 13) and *vishvēsari* (l. 25); *s* for *śh* in *bhaviṣyati* (ll. 30-31); *sh* for *ś* in *shivapadē* (l. 21) and *vishvēsari* (l. 25); *tr* for *rti* in *kitri* (ll. 30, 31, 33); and *sv* for *sy* in *tasvā* (ll. 22-23). We find, however, only two instances of incorrect orthography in the first inscription, viz. *ṇ* for *n* in *Phālgunē* (l. 6); and *ś* for *s* in *Harīśchandraśya* (l. 8).

There are also several mistakes of grammar in the second inscription. To mention a few of them here: *nṛpatē kitriṃ* for *nṛpatēḥ kirtti* (ll. 29-30); *kitriṃ lupta* for *kirttirluptā* (l. 30); and *kitri karōmyaham* for *kirttiṃ karōmyaham* (l. 33). In the first inscription we find, however, only one mistake of grammar, viz. *phalam prāptayē* for *phalapṛāptayē* (ll. 11-12).

The first inscription mentions the erection of a temple of the god Śiva by Haripriyā, the beloved wife of the lord of the earth Harīśchandra; the second one records the restoration of the said temple by a Brahmin named Nanda, who seems to have been a votary of the god Mādhava but whose beloved wife Viśvēśvarī is reputed to be the follower of the feet of the god Hara.

The inscriptions do not contain any information of historical interest. We find, however, the names of a lord of the earth and his wife. But who the lord of the earth Harīśchandra and his wife Haripriyā were we do not know.

The only geographical term mentioned in the inscriptions is Śivapada. It is not improbable that the place where the four temples have been found was formerly called Śivapada after the name of the god Śiva in whose honour a temple had been first erected and afterwards restored. The modern name of the place seems to have been derived from the discovery of big mines (coal) in its neighbourhood.

TEXTS OF INSCRIPTIONS.

PLATE 4.

[Metre : V. 1, Śārdūlavikrīḍitaṁ.]

1. Ōm ॥ (Śā) kē nētra-va-
2. su-tri-chandra-guṇitē¹
3. puṇyē budhāhē ti-
4. thāvashtamyāṁ ruchiraṁ
5. pratishṭhitavati pakshē
6. sitē Phālgunē² | Ai-
7. śaṁ dēvakulaṁ yathā
8. vidhi Harischandraśya³
9. bhūriśriyō bhūśakra-
10. sya Haripriyā priya-
11. tamā uccaiḥ phalaṁ⁴ prā-
12. ptayē ॥ [1*]

PLATES 5-6.

[Metres : V. 1, Śragdharā (defective) ; VV. 2-3, Anushtubh (defective).]

13. Sākē⁵ vasu-
14. rasa-samudra-chanda⁶ gani-
15. tē⁷ pakshā⁸ sitē mā-
16. rgagē⁹ saptamāñcha¹⁰
17. gurudvinē¹¹ prati-
18. shthita¹² Hara¹³ puṇyē¹⁴
19. budhāhē bhuvi [i] tēsām¹⁵
20. viprakulē kulava-
21. tām Shivapadē¹⁶ Śri-
22. Nandanāmadhēyaṁ¹⁷ ta-
23. svā¹⁸ bhārjyāti¹⁹ pakshā²⁰
24. Harapadaviditām²¹
25. Vishvēsari²² tatpṛyām²³ [1*]

¹ Read Gaṇitē.² Read Phālgunē.³ Read Harischandrasya.⁴ Read Phala°.⁵ Read Śākē.⁶ Read °Chandra°.⁷ Read Gaṇitē.⁸ Read Pakshē.⁹ Read Mārgakē.¹⁰ Read Saptamāñcha.¹¹ Read Gurudinē.²³ Read Tatpṛiyā. Tat is superfluous.¹² Read Pratishṭhitaḥ.¹³ Read Haraḥ.¹⁴ Read Puṇyē.¹⁵ Read Tēsām.¹⁶ Read Śivapadē.¹⁷ Read °dvijah instead of °dhēyah.¹⁸ Read Tasya.¹⁹ Read Bhāryēti. Iti is superfluous.²⁰ Read Pakshaḥ.²¹ Read Harapadaviditā.²² Read Viśvēśvarī.

26. Pranammam¹ Mādhavam dēvam
 27. Nandvanāmadvi-²
 28. janmanā [1] Hari-
 29. schandrasya³ nrpatē⁴
 30. kitriṃ⁵ lupta⁶ bha-
 31. visyati⁷ [1 2*] tatkitri⁸
 32. rakshanāthāya⁹ pu-
 33. na¹⁰ kitri¹¹ karōmyaham [1]

TRANSLATION OF INSCRIPTIONS.

PLATE 4.

On the auspicious Wednesday, the eighth of the bright half of Phālguna in the Śaka year counted by the figures represented by *nētra* (3), *vasu* (8), *tri* (3), and *chandra* (1), Haripriyā, the beloved wife of Hariśchandra, the lord of the earth and possessed of great wealth, caused to be built a beautiful temple of Śiva according to the rites, for the attainment of high merits.

PLATES 5-6.

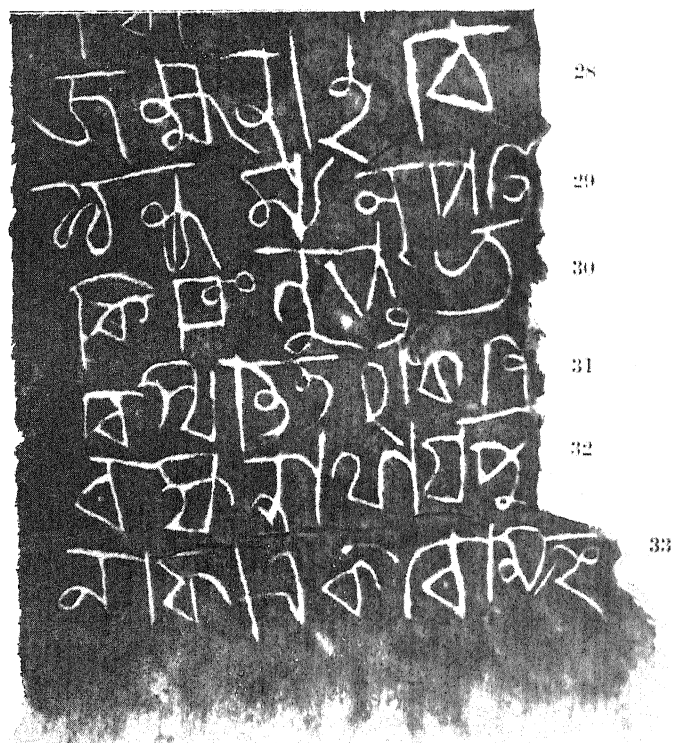
On the auspicious Wednesday, the important day of saptami¹² of the bright half of Mārgaśirsha in the Śaka year counted by the figures represented by *vasu* (8), *rasa* (6), *samudra* (4), and *chandra* (1), a certain (Brahmin) Nanda by name, (who is born) at Śivapada in the Brahmin family of those of noble birth and whose beloved wife Viśvēśvarī is reputed to be the follower of the feet of Hara, caused to be built (the temple of) Hara. Having made obeisance to the god Mādhava it is resolved by the Brahmin named Nanda, 'The glory of King Hariśchandra will vanish (as the temple is out of repair). In order to preserve his glory again I will do the work (of repair)'.

¹ Read Pranāmya.² Read Nanda°.³ Read Hariśchandrasya.⁴ Read Nrpatēḥ.⁵ Read Kirttir°.⁶ Read °luptā.⁷ Read Bhavishyati.⁸ Read Tatkitrīm.⁹ Read Rakshanārthāya.¹⁰ Read Punaḥ.¹¹ Read Kirttīm.¹² 'Saptamyāñcha garudīnē' evidently means here 'on the important day' of mitra saptamī, sacred to the sun.

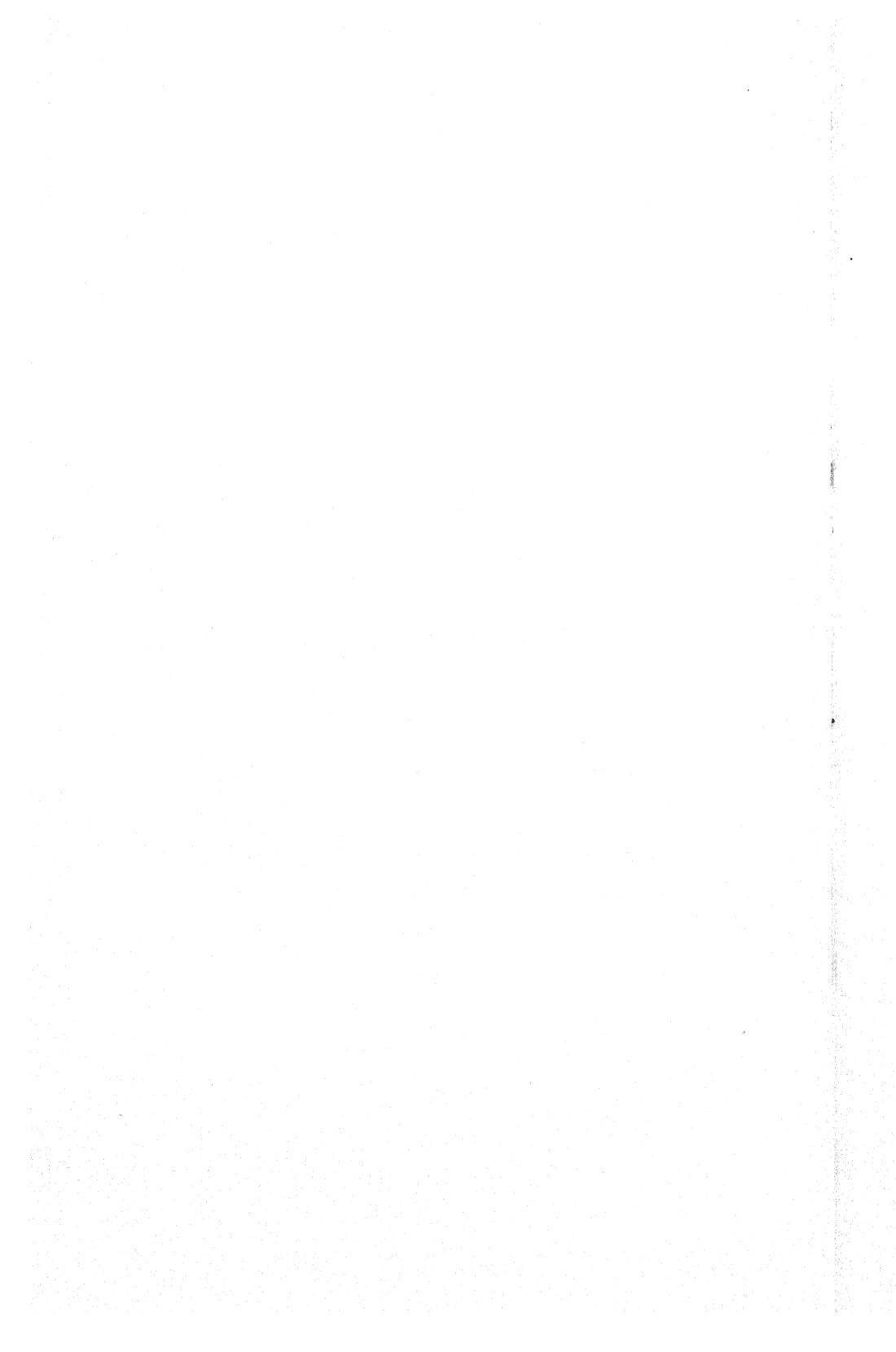
১	১২
২	১১
৩	১০
৪	৯
৫	৮
৬	৭
৭	৬
৮	৫
৯	৪
১০	৩
১১	২
১২	১

Inscription in Bengali script (12 lines) on the right door-jamb of Ganesa temple, No. I (1' 6" x 0' 7") at Barakar (Begunia), Dt. Burdwan. Top.

সাকিব ম	13
কলসী প্রদীপ	14
সফলমণ্ড মা	15
কলিচন্দ্র মা	16
প্রদীপ প্রদ	17
কলিচন্দ্র প্রদ	18
কলিচন্দ্র প্রদ	19
কলিচন্দ্র প্রদ	20
কলিচন্দ্র প্রদ	21
কলিচন্দ্র প্রদ	22
কলিচন্দ্র প্রদ	23
কলিচন্দ্র প্রদ	24
কলিচন্দ্র প্রদ	25
কলিচন্দ্র প্রদ	26
কলিচন্দ্র প্রদ	27



Lower portion of Plate 5.



The Daflas and their Oaths.

By N. L. BOR.

The foothills of the Himalaya in Assam between the Bhorelli and the Khru rivers are inhabited by a race of hill people known as Daflas to the Assamese. The origin of this name is shrouded in mystery and they invariably refer to themselves as Bengni (men). As far as is known this tribe extends northwards to the foot of the lofty snowcovered mountains known as the Se La range, but this is only hearsay and the country has not been explored at all.

The Daflas far within the hills are a fine independent race, but those nearer Assam have been spoiled by contact with the plains people. Malaria and dysentery have thinned out their numbers and undermined their robust constitutions, manifesting itself in reduced stature and loss of warlike spirit and manly independence.

The tribe has always been truculent and turbulent, and must have been a thorn in the side of the native rulers of Assam. One writer, Mahomed Zagin, during the reign of Aurungzeb, remarked 'The Daflas are entirely independent of the Assam Raja, and whenever they find an opportunity they plunder the country contiguous to their mountains'.¹

The Assam kings seem to have resigned themselves to the fact that they were powerless to prevent raids by the hill people and for that reason the taxes demanded from plains villages close to the hills were much lighter than in villages more remote. In fact it was recognized by the British that the Daflas had acquired a right to levy tribute in the plains and in 1852 the Court of Directors insisted on this 'posa' being commuted for an annual money payment. This arrangement continues in force at the present day.

The tribe is divided into two sections, the western 'Yanno' and eastern 'Tagen'. Each section is divided into a very large number of exogamous clans or *nyebus*. A lofty ridge running north and south in the centre of the Dafla country may be taken as the dividing line between these two sections, who differ markedly in dialect and custom. The dress of the two sections is however the same.

The Dafla village consists of few houses, but they, especially that of a chief, are of immense size, and shelter many families, each of which has its own hearth and sleeping space.

¹ *Gazetter of the Balipara Frontier Tract.*

The tribe as a whole is not united, but groups of villages form loose alliances and unite in times of danger. Murder and slave-taking are very common in villages 3 or 4 marches from the plains and the usual *casus belli* is the spread of disease within the hills. Any village near the plains is suspect, as the disease is invariably carried up to the hills from the plains, and the Daffa sanitary conditions being what they are it is not surprising that a disease such as dysentery causes dreadful mortality.

When an enemy is killed the head is usually cut off but is not carried away, but the right hand is severed at the wrist and taken to the raiders' village, where it is attached to a tree, palm outwards, by means of a cane thong. The raiders then gather round and discharge arrows at it.

The dress of a Daffa male is simple, consisting merely of a 'lengta', while on his head he wears a cane hat decorated with hornbill feathers. The hair is parted behind and plaited, the two plaits being then tied in a knot above the forehead and transfixed with a brass pin. The dress of a woman is simply a cloth wrapped round the body. The women wear a woven cane anklet (*lorung*), so tight that the flesh bulges above and below; corresponding to the *lorung* the male wears a tight band of cotton (*lekung*) below the knee. It is believed that the *lorung* and *lekung* enable them to climb hills.

Their arms are a long spear, 'dao', bow and arrows, the latter often being covered with aconite just below the barb. Guns are much prized and valued by villages on the outer ranges for the protection they give against raiders from within the hills.

The method of cultivation is 'jhuming' and in some places, e.g. Panir river valley, is supplemented by irrigated terrace cultivation. The usual hill crops are grown and in addition opium is cultivated in common with all the tribes on the northern frontier of Assam. The cultivation of the opium poppy is likely to increase when the hillman learns what a profitable market lies to his hand in the province of Assam, where the sale of opium is being restricted.

The flight of slaves from the hills and the subsequent raids carried out by their enraged owners led to a Daffa settlement being established in 1918 at Charduar, the headquarters of the Balipara Frontier Tract. Here are collected a heterogeneous collection of scallywags, runaway slaves and those who have made the hills too hot to hold them, all of them under the control of a Political Officer.

As mentioned above these Daffas and those in readily accessible villages are about to be, or have become, demoralized by contact with the plains and there is great danger of their traditions and customs being lost.

It is surprising how little is on record concerning this

interesting people, whose customs are not less interesting than those of any other Assam hill tribe with whom the general public is familiar, thanks to the series of monographs on the hill tribes published by the Government of Assam. It is not improbable that in the future the inner hills may become even less accessible than they are now, and the author of this paper believes that the danger of information being lost altogether will be the justification for an amateurish attempt to put on record an account of some of the Dafla customs.

THE OATH AMONG THE DAFLAS.

Among uncivilized peoples who live in constant dread of evil spirits the taking of an oath is of considerable interest on account of the light it throws upon their religion and beliefs.

The Dafla lives in a world of malignant spirits which are liable to attack him at any moment. Any disease is put down to the influence of some spirit or other. For this reason the *nyebu* or sorcerer, who lives in intimate contact with the spirit world, is a man of very considerable power and is called in upon every conceivable occasion when trouble threatens. His fees are high and the ceremonies he performs to exorcise a troublesome spirit often entail considerable expense to the sufferer.

A good deal of the information in this account of the Dafla oath was given to me by Karu Welli, a *nyebu* of great repute among the Daflas. The awe with which he is regarded is not unmingled with fear on account of his alleged power of casting spells. The belief is so real that few people will speak ill of him for fear that they will be visited by some misfortune.

The stock in trade of a *nyebu*, which is often used in administering oaths, consists of the following :—

1. *Senyo fi* (Tiger's tooth).
2. *Hati supin* (Elephant's hide).
3. *Burru supin* (Water snake's skin).
4. *Chègè* ('Dao').
5. *Nengko* (Spear).
6. *Máklung* (Core of a thunderbolt).
7. *Öpök* (Arrow).
8. *Ráktik* (Arrowhead).
9. *Upno* (Aconite).
10. *Kamin ishi* (Water from the Bhorelli).
11. *Yamdök* (Chilli).
12. *Eleng* (Stone).
13. *Hápök* (Chicken liver).
14. *Mamupodurung* (*Laportea crenulata*).
15. *Sengrit* (Branch of *Ficus rhododendrifolia*).

The association of ideas which leads to the use of most of the above articles will be obvious but there are some that require further explanation.

Burru supin—Water snake skin. All people who are drowned in the Bhorelli are supposed to be carried away by a large species of snake called *Burru*. Karu showed me a piece of skin which he said was that of a *Burru* and told me that on one occasion, many years ago, he was near the Brahmaputra, when a Sahib shot one of these snakes. The piece of skin which was produced before me was almost certainly part of a crocodile's skin. He strenuously denied that it was from the skin of a 'ghariyal', or fish eating crocodile, and stated that the 'water snake' he saw had a blunt snout. It is very probable therefore that the crocodile he saw killed was a 'mugger' which, I believe I am correct in saying, is a very rare visitor to the Brahmaputra river.

Måklung or core of a thunderbolt. These stones are common in the hills and are said to be found in trees which have been struck by lightning. The one shown to me was dark in colour and may have been meteoric in origin.

Mamupodurung. This is the Dafla name of the nettle *Laportea crenulata*, which gives a 'sting' of extreme severity; in fact so bad that it usually causes a rise of temperature or even delirium and the effects last for many days.

Hâpök—The liver or heart. The Daflas believe that the liver or heart is the seat of nearly all diseases, which are caused by an evil spirit or ghost biting or feeding upon the liver. The man who takes a false oath is particularly liable to have his liver attacked by such a spirit; hence the organ is regarded with considerable fear and awe.

Sengrit—*Ficus rhododendrifolia*. The tree is believed to be the abode of certain evil spirits and is called *Oyu Sengne* or 'Spirit tree' by the Daflas.

Of considerable interest to ethnologists will be the occurrence of the Y shaped sacrificial post (in the ceremony for swearing the *Sori dingdung*), used when a pig is decapitated. Among the Daflas the wood of *Laportea crenulata*, which occasionally grows to the size of a small tree, is used for the post.

Oaths fall into two classes :—

1. Those the result of which is not apparent for some time.
2. Those that demonstrate guilt or innocence at once.

Under the first heading come the oaths on the tiger's tooth, 'dao', spear, or water snake's skin and the *Sori dingdung*. Of these the most important is the *Sori dingdung* and this oath will not be taken lightly by any Dafla.

Under the second heading come the *Sodung dingdung* and *Râkderr dingdung* or ordeals by boiling water or red-hot iron.

In connection with these two oaths the man who comes through the ordeal unscathed has the right to demand *pafé* from the other party. This *pafé* is in the nature of compensation paid by the loser to the man who has won the contest for any possible danger he may be subject to on account of his temerity in taking the oath in the presence of a large number of evil spirits.

In the case of the first named oaths no *pafé* is awarded because if a false oath is taken the swearer is supposed to die by the object upon which he took his oath.

The only oaths about which a Dafla will think twice before he swears are the *Sori dingdung*, the *Sodung dingdung*, and the *Râkderr dingdung*. Any potential evil which may ensue from false swearing on the tiger's tooth, aconite, spear, 'daos', etc. can easily be charmed away by a simple ceremony which can be carried out without the assistance of a *nyebu*. Any case, therefore, of importance which is to be decided by oath must involve the swearing of one of the oaths mentioned above. The *Sodung dingdung* and the *Râkderr dingdung* are ordeals by boiling water and hot iron respectively and I have actually witnessed the former. In this particular case the guilty one was scalded, while the innocent man received no harm, although he thrust his arm up to the elbow into a 'chungu' of boiling water. Many are the authentic cases of retribution, in the form of death, following the false swearing of the *Sori dingdung* and I can personally vouch for two cases within my own experience.

Death following the false swearing of an oath has its parallel among many tribes and has been explained by the power of the primitive mind over its body, but how can one explain the victory of innocent flesh over boiling water and red-hot iron? This question can safely be left to the Pandits, and in the meantime a detailed description of the ceremony of the different oaths will be given.

SENYO FI DINGDUNG.

(Oath on tiger's tooth.)

Most hill tribes are accustomed to take an oath on the tiger's tooth, the supposition being that he who takes a false oath is liable to be killed and eaten by a tiger. Among the Nagas it is a very common form of oath and its reliability depends upon the length of time which has elapsed since somebody has been killed by a tiger. During my early dealings with Daflas I often settled a case by this method, i.e. by making one party swear on the tiger's tooth that what he said was true, the other party, *ipso facto*, losing his case. More usually both sides took

the oath and swore oaths that were diametrically opposed. In this case the two parties were carefully watched for 30 days and the first to have any loss, and it may be only trivial, loses the case.

There is no knowing how long I might have continued complacently to administer this oath had I not found, quite accidentally, that it is the easiest thing in the world to charm away any potential evil effects which might follow a false oath.

The method of swearing is as follows :—

The swearer, supposing he is accused of theft, takes the tooth in his right hand, says the following formula aloud and bites the tooth :—

Nátolâ dutchámâiâ amebo binpa.
Taking stealing lie he tells.

Senyo fi dingdung dingtobo.
Tiger tooth oath I will swear.

Ngo amebo binbanung (or *dutchâbanung*) *gamto.*
I false say if (steal if) bite.

Ngo amebo binmâbanung (or *dutchâmâbanung*) *gamio.*
I false say not if (steal not if) bite not.

To charm away any evil results of a false oath the swearer digs a little hole 1' 6" deep near the ladder of his house. An egg is broken and thrown into the hole, together with the carcase and head of a decapitated fowl. The hole is then filled in and a small stone placed on the mound of earth. The ceremony is accomplished by the repetition of these words while the right foot is placed on the mound.

Sûlogalakô dingdungno gamkhumâbo.
To-day from oath will not bite.

This oath is varied in many different ways. Instead of the tiger's tooth the oath may be taken on a 'dao', arrow, spear, earth from a grave, or on several climbers which die back every year. They are as unreliable as the oath on the tiger's tooth because the false swearer may save himself from retribution by means of the simple ceremony described above.

SODUNG DINGDUNG.

Perhaps the most interesting of all the Dafla oaths is the *Sodung Dingdung* or ordeal by boiling water. I had long wished to see this oath taken but only recently have I had an opportunity of doing so. As the taking of this oath has never before been witnessed by a European I have described it in some detail.

The circumstances which led up to the ordeal were as follows :—

A young girl died suddenly in the house of Harre Moya, a headman in the Dafla settlement. The immediate cause of death was a ruptured spleen which might have been caused by a blow over the organ or a heavy fall. There were no marks of violence on the body but there were rumours of a quarrel and one man came forward and alleged that Harre had knocked the girl down and kicked her.

I took the case up in court and had to acquit Harre of a charge u/s 325 I.P.C. on account of the overwhelming evidence brought forward by him that the girl had had a fall on the 'machang' of his house. The prosecution witness was one Rayom Burra who is the most complete blackguard in the Dafla settlement, which is saying a good deal, as anyone who is acquainted with Daflas will testify. This, coupled with the fact that Harre himself and all his family took an oath on the tiger's tooth that he was innocent, swayed me in his favour.

A slight digression must be made here into Dafla eschatology. After death the *yalo* or soul of a man is transformed into a ghost which haunts the earth for some time after burial and has power to attack living persons. Should the death be a natural one, the ghost is called *Sunu urem* and goes to a special abode of the dead called *Chengsi*, whence it returns and haunts the locality in which its earthly body lived. This ghost appears in the form of a living person and those who see it are liable to pains in the liver. A *nyebu* can easily free the sufferer from the attentions of this ghost.

When the death has been a violent one, 'apotia' as it is called by the Assamese, the ghost is called *Senyo urem* and its abode is named *Chengru*. This ghost appears in the form of a tiger and should the death be due to murder, haunts the house of its murderer. Such a ghost is with great difficulty cast out and unless a *nyebu* is at hand the sufferer invariably dies.

Shortly after I had acquitted Harre of the criminal charge I heard that a *Senyo urem* had made its appearance in Harre's village and that he had performed the prescribed ceremony to get rid of this ghost. The two parties then appeared before me and Harre again denied that he knocked the girl down, while Rayom just as vehemently alleged that he did knock her down and kick her. I suggested that it would be a very satisfactory ending to the case if it were settled by the *Sodung dingdung*. Both agreed on the spur of the moment and I held them to this promise.

Having decided upon the oath a great deal of talking had to be got through before a *nyebu* to perform the ceremony could be selected. Harre gave a good deal of trouble in this

respect and made most absurd demands. First of all he wanted seven medicine men, chiefly, I believe, because he knew that that number was not available. Then he wanted a *nyebu* for himself and one for Rayom. This also was impossible because no *nyebu* with a pregnant wife will perform this ceremony, and of the three *nyebus* at Lokra, two had wives in this fruitful condition. After a good deal of shouting and talk it was agreed that one Tachung Sengdâ should perform the ceremony. Tachung Sengdâ then demanded a guarantee that he be absolved from all blame should either of the contestants come to any harm. Strange though it may seem this is a very sound condition. Recently a man, whose father had taken a false oath and died as a result of it, brought a case for damages against the *nyebu* who administered the oath. When all had been satisfactorily settled a day was fixed for the ordeal.

A period of preparation is necessary before the oath is actually taken and 24 hours before the parties, accompanied by the *nyebu*, go into the jungle, where they must not eat any warm food, a fire may not lit, and no man, woman or child may approach them. It is very difficult to get at the reasons for the period spent apart but the underlying motives seem to be (1) to allow the presiding spirits to examine the conscience of each man in the quiet of the jungle, and (2) to ensure that no harm may befall the villagers from the concourse of spirits called up by the *nyebu*.

Before the parties undergo the ordeal the *nyebu* is careful to wash and cut the nails of the left hand of each, because it is believed that were a small piece of lime to be inserted under a nail the trial will not work. For the same reason also, when they are about to undergo the ordeal, a careful watch is kept to see that they do not spit on the palm of the left hand.

On the morning of the appointed day a crowd of villagers assembled and cleared an open space in the jungle in the centre of which was built a small circular enclosure. All the villagers came to see the fun except those men whose wives were pregnant. Should they come their wives are liable to miscarry.

The enclosure had two openings, each just large enough for one man, one towards the north, where the *nyebu* takes his stand on a small ramp of four stakes, the upper end being 1' above the ground, and one towards the south for the contestants. No special wood is used for the ramp.

The enclosure was built of thin wooden uprights and horizontals bound with cane, forming a lattice the openings of which are about 1 foot square. All around the stockade were 'panjis' 3' long pointing outwards. No special wood was used. Inside a large fire was kindled and fanned to white heat with winnowing trays. In the centre of the fire was a 'chungâ' cut from the large bamboo *Bambusa kakua*. The 'chungâ' was inclined at an angle of 45° and faced south where the other

opening was situated, and it is through this opening that the contestants enter to plunge their arms into the boiling water.

At the southern opening an elaborate flooring of logs was laid down. From south to north the series is :—

1. A log of ordinary wood.
2. A log of the tree *Ficus rhododendrifolia*.
3. Several lengths of the creeper *Entada scandens*. The opening in the stockade.
4. A series of pieces of ordinary wood.
5. A log of *Ficus rhododendrifolia*.

The 'chunga' was filled with water which must be brought from a large river, e.g. the Bhorelli, *Kamin* to the Daflas, which was close at hand. Into it were cast a tiger's tooth, a small stone, leaves of the stinging nettle *Laportea crenulata*, and the bark of the trees *Ficus rhododendrifolia* and *Tetrameles nudiflora*.

Laportea crenulata is the worst stinging nettle known, the bark of *Ficus rhododendrifolia* causes itching, while the tree *Tetrameles nudiflora*, which grows to an enormous size, is supposed to be the abode of a malignant spirit.

When all was ready the *nyebu* stood on the ramp and swung a leafy branch backwards and forwards over the fire with his right hand and constantly muttered the following incantation :—

Amebanung, mingbanung, gamto.

Lie if, killed if, bite.

Amemâbanung, mingmâbanung, gamio.

Lie not if, killed not if, do not bite.

When the water began to boil in the 'chunga' Harre appeared with his hair let down, his 'dao' over his right shoulder and naked save for his 'lengta'. He stepped into the southern opening, a yard from where I was watching, and thrust out his left hand towards the 'chunga'. At that moment the water boiled furiously and some splashed over the back of his hand whereupon he at once drew back and left the enclosure. He was immediately followed by Rayom who shouted as he entered the southern opening :—

Amebo binkhumâ, gamio.

Lie said not, do not bite.

and thrust his arm up the elbow into the boiling water for 1 or 2 seconds and then withdrew it. I immediately examined both of them and found that Harre's hand was burning hot while that of Rayom was as cool as a snake.

All the Daflas round about accused Harre of not putting his hand into the 'chunga' and all said that he was guilty. Harre clearly was overcome and he sank down to the ground, where he

was surrounded by his friends. He refused to face the boiling water a second time.

Rayom, who was the big man of the day, did not allow his experience to worry him, but went round to the northern opening where the *nyebu* still stood on his ramp waving his branch over the fire, repeating his incantation. A small fowl was brought, its head cut off and the carcase thrown upon the fire. Rayom then facing inwards shouted these words:—

Sodung dingdung nyebue gampana.
the sorcerer bit.

Ume garpanna, Rayome iderrpakh.
Fire made Rayom was saved.

Hágabo pörrök mingkhuna,
This for fowl killed,

Ume verrulektokhulá, hágabo ume mikpakhuna,
Fire scattered, this for fire put out,

Hágabo odungem papenna.
For this 'chunga' cut.

Nolaga Bengniga rechenga.
We Dafas do this.

(The *nyebu* prepared the *Sodung Dingdung* and made a fire. Rayom came through unscathed. According to Dafa custom I have killed a fowl, scattered and put out the fire and smashed the 'chunga'.)

After which he sprang into the stockade, scattered the fire, and smashed up the 'chunga' with his 'dao'. After this all the Dafas present gave vent to a series of long drawn out 'ho's' alternating with humming through the nose.

During the afternoon Harre was very ill and vomited and apparently was in great pain. Rayom, however, was quite fit but complained of itching on the back of his hand and arm.

I examined both of them next day and found Harre with several large blisters on his fingers. The skin on the back of Rayom's arm was thickened and rough but there was no local pyrexia or any sign of scalding, though he complained of intolerable itching. The palm of his hand and fingers showed no injury whatever.

The party who is adjudged guilty by the trial is put to considerable expense. The *nyebu* gets from him one yoke of oxen, one large silk cloth, one 'dao', one spear, and one arrow. In addition he must slaughter one yoke of oxen and one pig and give the flesh as a feast to all the villagers.

This oath is very rarely taken owing to the great expense.

RÂKDERR DINGDUNG.

(Iron oath.)

The procedure in taking this oath is exactly the same as that for the *Sodung Dingdung*, with the exception that instead of a 'chunga' of boiling water a piece of iron is placed in the fire. The fire is fanned as usual with winnowing trays until the iron is red hot. The man about to swear comes forward, places a leaf of *Ficus rhododendrifolia* on the palm of his hand and on the top of that a leaf of *Laportea crenulata*.

The *nyebu* says :—

Aè dutchâbanung râkderrno gamto.

He steal if iron bite.

Aè dutchamâbanung gamio.

He steal not if bite not.

A bystander by means of a pair of pincers lifts the red-hot iron from the fire and places it on the hand of the swearer. He takes no harm if guiltless, but should he be guilty it burns clean through his hand. When the iron is placed on his hand he says :—

Ngo dutchâbanung gamto.

I steal if bite.

Ngo dutchamâbanung

I steal not if

Enniamâbanung gamio.

Guilty not if bite not.

I have not seen this ordeal but my informant, the *nyebu* Karu, tells me he saw it done once and in this case the man was not guilty and was able to hold the iron on his hand and took no harm therefrom.

SORI DINGDUNG.

This is one of the more important Dafla oaths and it is alleged that death invariably follows the taking of a false oath. I know of two cases in which almost certainly a false oath was taken. In the first case the man himself died from what disease I could not ascertain; in the second the swearer, his wife and family all died within a short time from malaria or some fever of like nature.

There are no preliminaries as in the *Sodung Dingdung* and *Râkderr* oaths and both parties meet in the presence of the *nyebu* under a large tree. A branch of *Laportea crenulata* is stuck in the ground and beside it is placed a Y shaped post of the same species, about 3" in diameter, the arms of the fork being 1' 6" long.

The following articles are brought by the *nyebu* and piled up under the tree :—

1. *Mamupodurungte* (Branches of *Laportea crenulata*).
2. *Sengrit* (Branches of *Ficus rhododendrifolia*).
3. *Senyo fi* (Tiger's tooth).
4. *Chégé* (Dao).
5. *Nengko* (Spear).
6. *Yamdök* (Chilli).
7. *Hati'é* (Elephant's dung).
8. *Burru supin* (Skin of the *Burru*).
9. *Máklung* (Core of a thunderbolt).
10. *Öpök* (Arrow).
11. *Ráktik* (Arrowhead).
12. *Upno* (Aconite).
13. *Kamin ishi* (Water from the *Bhorelli*).
14. *Eleng* (Stone).
15. *Hâpök* (Chicken's liver).

A pig, which is provided by the party who is making the other party take the oath is tied to the sacrificial post with its head between the arms of the fork. A small hole is dug in the earth just below the neck of the pig. When all is ready the *nyebu* calls up the spirits as follows :—

Secheng dingdung Sori,
Grave oath Sori,

Borru dingdung Sori,
Water snake oath Sori,

Hai dingdung Sori,
Water oath Sori,

Dányi dingdung Sori,
Sun oath Sori,

Seu dingdung Sori,
Jungle spirit oath Sori,

Oro' dingdung Sori,
Small knife oath Sori,

Upno dingdung Sori,
Aconite oath Sori,

Podu modu dingdung Sori,
Laportea oath Sori,

Ume, Setum, Sera, Hati, Senyo,
Fire, bear, wild pig, elephant, tiger,

ungto.
come.

The meaning of the word *Sori* has been lost and is not known to the Daflas themselves.

The head of the pig is now severed from the body with one blow of a 'dao' and the blood allowed to collect in the hole. The chest cavity is opened and the heart torn out and skewered upon a sliver of the bamboo *Bambusa tulda*. The *nyebu* offers this tit-bit to the man about to swear with these words.

No dutchanénung gamrem.

You steal not if will not bite.

No dutchábanung gamtare.

You steal if will bite.

The man takes the heart and eats it; after which he puts his index finger into the blood and conveys some to his lips.

He then says—

Ngo metobanung, medonung doto,

I lie if, lie if eat,

Hâ dingdungno, Senyono, Setumno,

This oath by tiger bear

Hatino, Dányino, Burruno, Haino

Elephant, sun, water snake, water spirit

Seuno doto.

Jungle spirit eat (me).


Memábanung ngum dányi

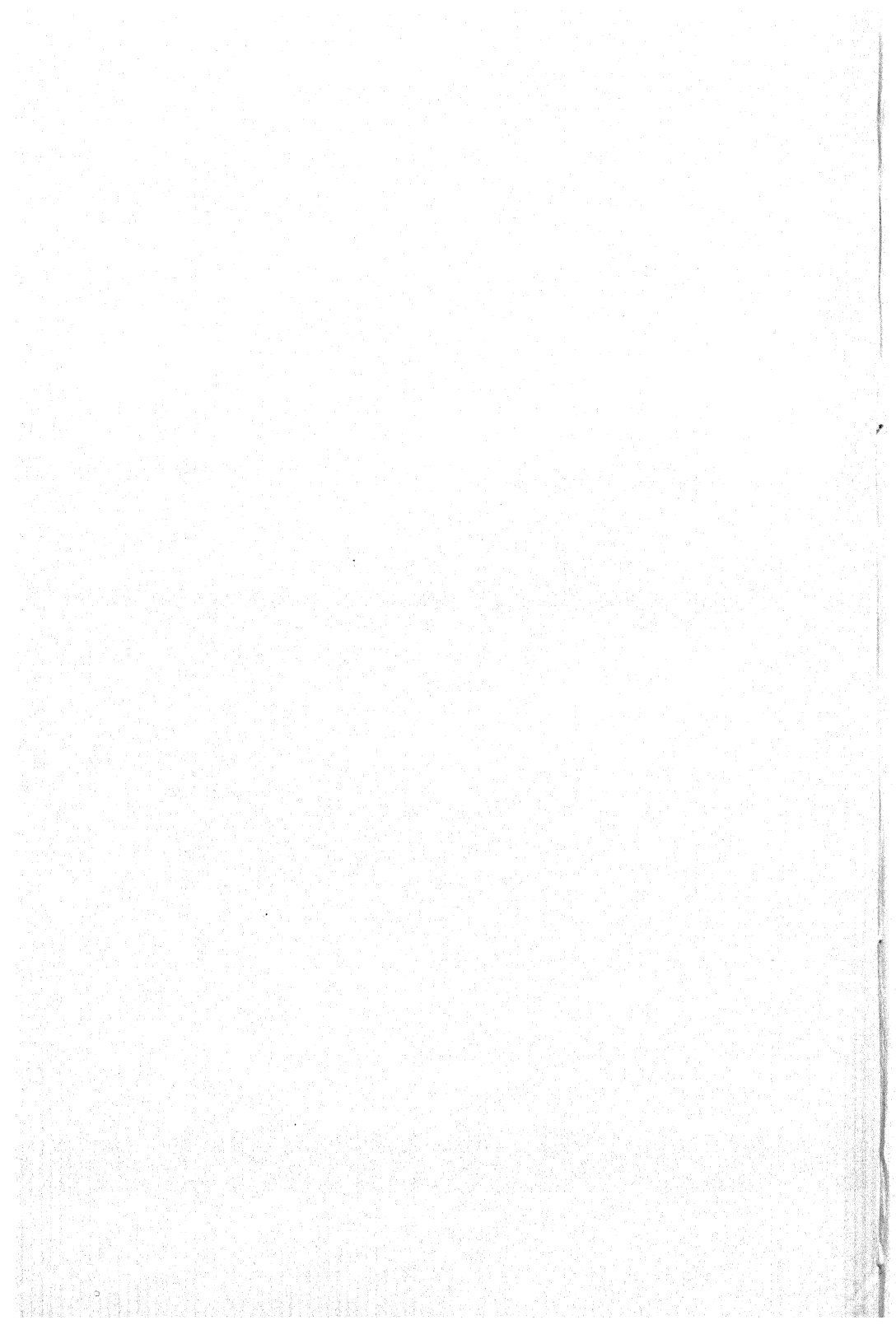
Lie not if me sun

Senyempila sübo soto.

Unharmd alive like this keep.

This terminates the proceedings.





Ekānamśā and Subhadrā.

By JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

Monier Williams gives two meanings of the word Ekānamśā :—1. *Kuhū* or the New Moon, 2. A name of Durgā. As an illustration of the first meaning, the following text is referred to :—

“महामखेव्वाङ्गिरसौ दीप्तिमत्सु महामते ।

महामतीति विख्याता सप्तमी कथ्यते सुता ॥ ७ ॥

यान्तु दृष्ट्वा भगवतीं जनः कुङ्कुहायते ।

एकानंशेति तामाजः कुङ्कमङ्गिरसः सुताम्” ॥ ८ ॥

(महाभारत, वनपर्व, २१७ अध्याय ।)

From the above, we gather that the seventh daughter of Aṅgirā was known as Mahāmatī in the sacrifices. She was called Kuhū, because people seeing her used to imitate the sound of *Kuhu*, *Kuhu*. This Kuhū was also called Ekānamśā. We do not understand how from this Ekānamśā can be interpreted as ‘new moon’. People used to imitate the sound, ‘*Kuhu*, *Kuhu*’, probably because she was of dark complexion like *Kuhu*, i.e. the Indian Cuckoo, or the new moon.

The earliest mention, in the second sense, as far as we know, is found in the *Harivaṃśa*, in connection with the birth of Viṣṇu as Kṛṣṇa. It is said therein that when the gods approached Viṣṇu to relieve the earth from the demon Kāṃsa and his followers, the god promised to be born in the womb of Daivakī, wife of Vasudeva. He bade the goddess Nidrā (the Māyā of Viṣṇu) to take her birth as the daughter of Yaśodā, wife of Nanda Gopa. He also told her that when Kāṃsa, with a view to kill her, will throw her on a stone, she would escape to the sky and assume four arms, holding trident, sword, wine cup and lotus in them. People will recite the *Āryāstava* in her praise etc. etc. (Ch. 58).

Things happened as told by Viṣṇu and the goddess came to be worshipped, for the protection of Keśava (Kṛṣṇa), and identified with Yoga-kanyā Ekānamśā, born from the *amśa* (part) of Prajāpati (Brahmā).¹

¹ सा कन्या वदधे तच्च दृष्ट्वासङ्गनि पूजिता ।

उचवत् पाल्यमाना सा देवदेवाज्ञया तदा ॥

The only mention of Ekānamśā in iconographical literature is found in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*. Therein Varāhamihira gives the following directions for the construction of her image :—

एकानंशा कार्या देवी बलदेवकृष्णयोर्मध्ये ।
 कटिसंस्थितवामकरा सरोजमितरेण चोदहती ॥ ३७ ॥
 कार्या चतुर्भुजा या वामकराभ्यां सपुस्तकं कमलम् ।
 द्वाभ्यां दक्षिणपार्श्वे वरमर्थिव्यक्ष्णं च ॥ ३८ ॥
 वामेव्यष्टभुजायाः कमण्डलुश्चापमम्बुजं शास्त्रम् ।
 वरशरदर्पणयुक्ताः सव्यभुजाः साक्षस्तूत्राश्च ॥ ३९ ॥

वृहत्संहिता, ५८ अध्याय ।

Here three varieties have been described, viz., two-armed, four-armed and eight-armed. She was, perhaps, born two-armed. She assumed four arms according to the *Harivaṃśa*, as we have seen above. In the *Viṣṇu-* and the *Brahma-purāṇas* she has been described as eight-armed. In these two *Purāṇas* she is not named as Ekānamśā, but as 'Yoganidrā', 'Mahāmāyā' and 'Vaiṣṇavi' (i.e. the *Śakti* of Viṣṇu). Here in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* we find a new element, i.e. her association with Valadeva and Kṛṣṇa, of which there is no explicit mention in the *Harivaṃśa*, although some indications have been given in Ch. 160. We shall try to see presently how it came about.

Varāhamihira in his short chapter on *Pratimā-lakṣaṇa*, consisting of 58 *ślokas* only, devotes three verses to the description of Ekānamśā. This shows that in his time, i.e. in the sixth century A.D., she must have been an important and popular deity. As such, we can fairly expect that some icon or sculpture representing her must be found somewhere. We are not disappointed in this. We have been fortunate in tracing one such in the Lucknow Museum.¹ Who knows that there are not many others lying elsewhere unidentified or wrongly identified ?

विद्धि चैनामथोत्पन्नासंशदेवीं प्रजापतेः ।
 एकानंशां योगिकन्यां रक्षार्थं केशवस्य च ॥
 तां वै सर्वे सुमनसः पूजयन्ति स्म यादवाः ।
 देवीश्च दिव्यवपुषं कृष्णः संरक्षितो ययौ ॥

हरिवंश, ६० अध्याय ।

¹ I am indebted to Mr. K. N. Diksīt, Superintendent, Indian Museum, Calcutta (Now Deputy Director of Archaeology, Delhi) for the information about this piece of sculpture, and to Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal for sending us a copy of reprint of his paper.

The sculpture was found by Mr. N. C. Metah, I.C.S., in the district

Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow, has published an account of the 'Important sculptures added to the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, during the last decade', with plates, in the pages of the *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, Vol. VIII, part II, 1934. He gives the following particulars of the plate 5 :—

"This slab (3'4" × 2'3") carved in deep relief depicts a group of three figures which may tentatively be described as Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā, and Rāma. Lakṣmaṇa has a seven-hooded canopy significant of his *śeṣavatāra* and is four-armed, like his brother Rāma on the corresponding end, holding the usual attributes of Viṣṇu. The central figure may be Sītā or Lakṣmī wife of Viṣṇu, standing like Rāma, with a nimbus of lotus design on a lotus seat and holding a lotus stalk in her left hand. The open palm of her right hand bears a lotus mark and is let down in *Varadamudrā* or boon-giving posture. According to general practice she should have been placed to the left of Rāma, but probably for the sake of symmetry the artist has put her to the right of Rāma in defiance of the law of custom."

We are not satisfied with Rai Bahadur's tentative identifications. His Lakṣmaṇa is, no doubt, Valadeva, as the seven-headed serpent canopy clearly indicates. The other male figure, in the left, is his younger brother Kṛṣṇa. The female figure, in the middle is no other than Ekānaṁsādevī. Her position, as well as the two aerial beings (*Vidyādhara*s), on two sides of her lotus *nimbus*, mark her out to be the principal deity. Valadeva and Kṛṣṇa here, by position, are, no doubt, her *pārśadas*, i.e. companion deities.

From the description of the Rai Bahadur, and from the plate, it appears that she is two-armed. But the pose of her hands and the position of the lotus are not exactly as described by Varāhamihira, in the case of the two-armed image. They, however, tally with the descriptions of the two of the arms of the four-armed deity. This slight inaccuracy is immaterial. It may be due to the artist's following some other canon than that of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*.

A living instance of the worship of this triad will be found at Puri, in the temple of Jagannātha. The central figure there is not Ekānaṁsā, but Subhadrā. We are not aware of anything about the deification of Subhadrā, like her brothers. It is not, however, very difficult to prove that she is no other than our Ekānaṁsā, a manifestation of Durgā or Kātyāyanī. The *Brahma-purāṇa*, which names the central figure as Subhadrā, cites the following as her *namaskāra-mantra* :—

of Etah, while he was Magistrate there. He also published an account of it in the *Calcutta Modern Review* of July, 1923, pp. 43-45.

नमस्ते सर्व्वगे देवि नमस्ते शुभसौख्यदे ।

त्राहि मां पद्मपत्राक्षि कात्यायनि नमोस्तु ते ॥ ५८ ॥

ब्रह्मपुराण, ५७ अध्याय ।

There is no mention of Subhadrā in it. The second नमस्ते is redundant here. The first line probably stood originally as नमस्ते सर्व्वगे देविकानंशे शुभसौख्यदे । She has been addressed as Kātyāyanī, which is a name of Durgā. Again सर्व्वगा i.e. one who goes everywhere, cannot be applied to Subhadrā. The epithet, however, well applies to Ekānamśā, who has been called त्रैलोक्यचारिणी and सर्व्वगा (H.V., Ch. 58 and *Matsya Purāṇa*, Ch. 154). We shall be presently seeing how Subhadrā came to take the place of Ekānamśā.

In this connection, there arise three very interesting points. They are—(1) How and when Durgā came to be called Ekānamśā. ? (2) How she came to be associated and worshipped along with Valadeva and Kṛṣṇa ? and (3) How and when her name came to be changed to Subhadrā ? We shall try to solve these questions to the best of our ability.

Let us see if the etymology of the word Ekānamśā can help us in this direction. The word is composed of two words, in *Samāsa*, namely, *eka* and *anamśa*, with the suffix *ā* in the feminine. *Eka*, among others, means 'one', 'chief', 'pre-eminent'. *Anamśa* means 'not part'. So Ekānamśādevī means the goddess, who is one and is not part of any other. Thus she is अद्वैत and अखण्ड,¹ which amounts to आद्याशक्ति (Primal Energy) of the Śāktas.

It appears to us that Ekānamśā was being worshipped by the Yādavas as their tribal guardian deity.² There is nothing to be wondered at this. In the *Bhāgavata* we find the *gopinīs* performing the Kātyāyanī-Vrata. The worship of *Śakti* prevailed there before the rise of the Kṛṣṇa cult. When they found that the daughter of Yaśodā was the means of saving directly the life of Kṛṣṇa, and indirectly that of Valadeva, their favourites, they thought that she is no other than their household goddess Ekānamśā. Valarāma and Kṛṣṇa, most probably, came to be associated with the goddess as her wards, or as two notable representatives of her votaries. When the Kṛṣṇa cult rose into prominence, the popular worship was not rejected altogether, but appropriated and given a subordinate position. Thus she came to be worshipped along with her two deified wards.

¹ एका चानंशेति एकानंशा भगवता एका सती अविभक्ता । नौल्लखण्ड ।

² In the *Harivamśa*, Chs. 166, 168 and 178, we find that the Yādavas invoked her aid in times of difficulty.

According to the *Brahma-purāṇa*, King Indradyumna of Avanti built the temple at Puri and introduced the worship of Kṛṣṇa, Valarāma and Subhadṛā. He worshipped Puruṣottama Viṣṇu according to the Pañchrātra rituals¹ (Ch. 48, V. 12). To retain Ekānāmśā among the triad means to give a *Śākta* deity preference over their gods. Besides she required to be worshipped according to the *Śākta* rituals with meat and wine. Viṣṇu said :—

चरिष्यसि महाभागे वरदा कामरूपिणी ।

कृतानुयात्रां भूतैस्त्वं सुरामांसबलिप्रिया ।

तिथौ नवम्यां पूजा त्वं प्राप्यसे सपशुक्रियां ।

हरिवंश, ५८ अध्याय ।

Both these were, no doubt, repugnant to the followers of the Pañchrātra system. So they had recourse to the expediency of changing Ekānāmśā to inoffensive Subhadṛā. This required only the change in name. This was helped by the fact that Ekānāmśā having been born as the daughter of Yaśodā, the foster-mother of Kṛṣṇa, she was a sister to him.² Subhadṛā also held the same relationship.³ Further an indication of this

¹ According to the *Skanda-purāṇa*, Viṣṇu-Khaṇḍa, Puruṣottama-māhātmya Ch. 29, Valabhadra is to be worshipped by the *dvādaśākṣara-mantra*; Puruṣottama, by *puruṣa-sūkta*; and Subhadṛā according to the *Devī-Sūkta*.

² She has been called विष्णुभगिनी, भगिनीरामकृष्णयोः (*Harivaṃśa*, Chs. 178 and 160), and also called त्र्यम्बिका (*Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*).

³ The *Skanda-purāṇa* must have noticed the anomalous position of Subhadṛā, and has come forward with an explanation that she is none other than लक्ष्मी (लक्ष्मीं लक्ष्मीं हृदय-पङ्कजस्यां पश्यत्स्विताम् ॥ ६२ ॥ विष्णुखण्ड, पुरुषोत्तमसाहाय्य, ५ अध्याय) Again it says :—

सुभद्रा चारुवदना वराज्ञाभयधारिणी ॥ १० ॥

लक्ष्मीः प्रादुर्बभूवेयं सर्वचैतन्यरूपिणी ।

इयं कृष्णावतारे हि रोहिणीगर्भसम्भवा ॥ ११ ॥

बलभद्राकृतिर्जाता बलरूपस्य चिन्मयात् ।

क्षणं न सद्यते सा हि मोक्षं नीलावतारिणम् ॥ १२ ॥

न भेदस्त्वस्मिन् को विप्रः कृष्णस्य च बलस्य च ।

एकगर्भप्रसूतत्वाद्वाच्यहारीऽथ लौकिकः ॥ १३ ॥

भगिनी बलदेवस्य ह्येषा पौराणिकी कथा ।

पुरुषेण स्त्रीरूपेण लक्ष्मीः सर्वत्र तिष्ठति ॥ १४ ॥

पुनश्चा भगवान् विष्णुः स्त्रीनाम्ना कमलालया ।

is also found in the *Harivaṃśa*, where in the *Āryyāstava*, Ekānamśā or Nidrā has been addressed as the daughter of Nanda Gopa and also as the sister of Valadeva, as—

भगिनी बलदेवस्य रजनौ कलहप्रिया ।

आवासः सर्वभूतानां निष्ठा च परमागतिः ।

नन्दगोपसुता चैव देवी त्वमपराजिता ।

हरिवंश, ५९ अध्याय ।

This nominal change not only served their dual purposes excellently, but also saved them a change in the images, which surely would have offended the popular belief. By this change Ekānamśā has lost her position as the principal deity. She now occupies the third position among the triad.

Some scholars have seen in the images of the Jagannātha temple, the Buddhistic *Triratna*, viz. Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. But we do not see what plausible explanation there can be to represent Dharma as a female deity. If our identification is correct, the worship at Puri represents the superimposition of Vaiṣṇavism over Śāktism, and not Brahmanism over Buddhism.

देवतिर्यङ्मुखादौ विद्यते नैतयोः परम् ॥ १५ ॥

को ह्यन्यः पुण्डरीकाक्षद्वयवानि चतुर्दश ।

धारयेत्तु फणाश्रेण सोऽनन्तो बलसंज्ञितः ॥ १६ ॥

तस्य शक्तिस्वरूपेयं भगिनी-स्त्री-प्रवर्तिका ।

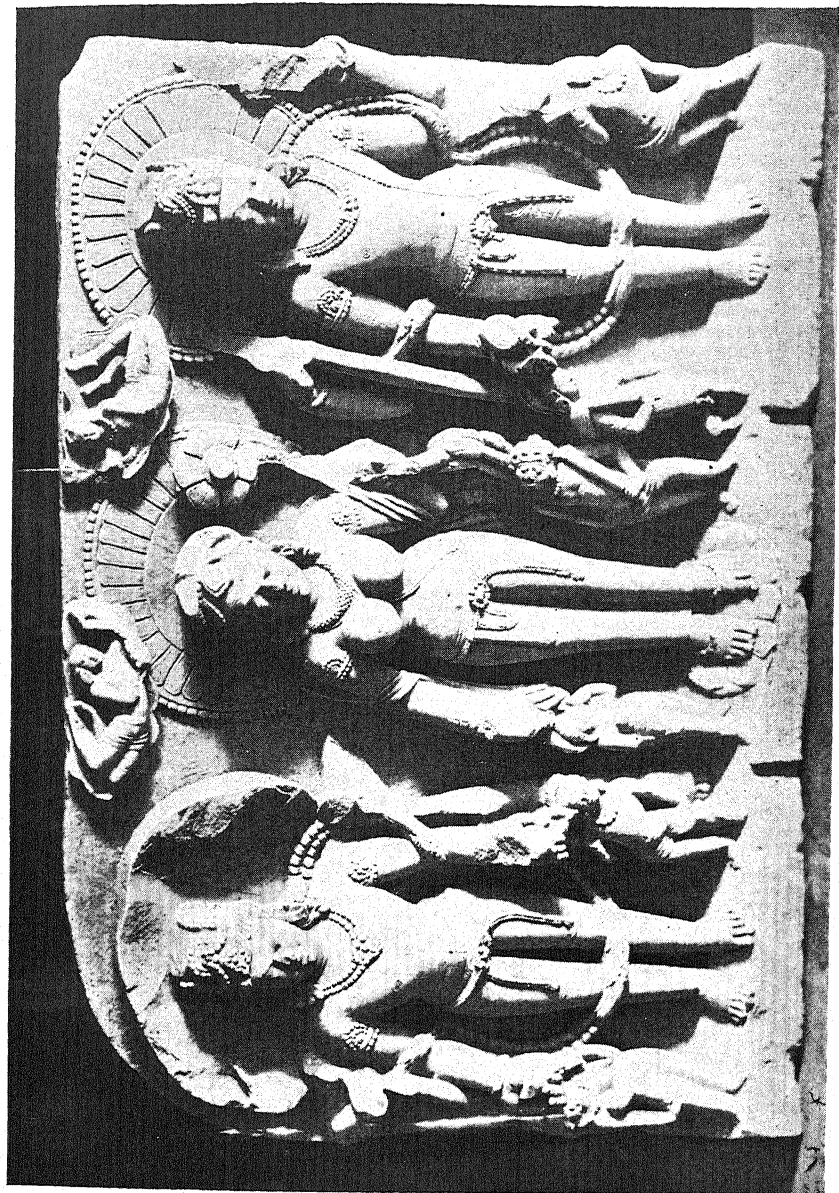
(*Ibid.*, Ch. 19.)

This explanation is not at all tenable, in view of the *namaskāra-mantra* quoted above. Further in the *कृष्णवतार*, Rukmīṇī is the incarnation of लक्ष्मी, and not सुभद्रा as कृष्ण says :—

रुक्मिणी नाम ते कन्या न सा प्राक्तमानुषी ।

श्रीरेषा ब्रह्मवाक्येन जाता केनापि हेतुना ॥

हरिवंश, १०९ अध्याय ।



KṚṢṆA

EKĀNAMŚĀ

VALĀDEVA

By the courtesy of the Lucknow Museum authorities.

The Phonetics of Lahnda.

By SIDDHESHWAR VARMA.

INTRODUCTION.

The area of the language, spoken in the west and the extreme north of the Panjab, has been minutely defined by Sir George Grierson¹ and he calls it 'Lahnda or Western Panjabi'. Neither of these terms, however, seems to be appropriate. As regards 'Lahnda', it may be doubted if the vast majority of the speakers of the language would understand the term if it refers to their mother-tongue, whether we call it 'Lahnda' or 'Lahndi'. But what really makes the term inappropriate is the fact that 'Lahnda' is only a relative term, signifying a *direction* from the standpoint of Panjabi speakers. If the language in question be called Lahnda, from the Panjabi speakers' standpoint, Panjabi may be called [cārdā] from the Lahnda speakers' standpoint. While the names for all the other languages in India positively refer to a nationality or to a definite geographical area, the choice of a mere direction for a language spoken by more than 5 million inhabitants² of India is rather unhappy. We speakers of this language call it [vātni boli]. But the name [vātni] would go to the other extreme: it would suggest as if there existed only a single language that claimed to be called 'national' in the absolute sense.

The term Western Panjabi seems to be more significant, for it refers to a positive geographical area; but it is also open to several objections. In the first place, ours is a language distinct from Panjabi, as will be shown in the following pages, and as Grierson himself admits.³ Moreover, Grierson devotes a separate volume to what he calls 'Panjabi'.⁴ Two separate volumes, one relating to 'Panjabi', and the other to 'Western Panjabi' give us overlapping terms. If the former is intended to imply 'Panjabi proper', the implication may suggest that 'Western Panjabi' was only an appendage to, or a mere dialect of, 'Panjabi proper'. 'Western Panjabi', properly speaking, is that branch of Panjabi which is spoken in certain areas between the Ravi and the Jhelum, represented, among others, by the towns of Gujrat, Wazirabad, Sialkot and Gujranwala; while 'Eastern Panjabi'

¹ LSI, VIII, p. 233.

² According to the *Census of India, 1921*, (p. 91) the number of Lahnda speakers in India in 1921 was 5,652,264.

³ LSI, VIII, p. 233.

⁴ LSI, Vol. IX.

is the one spoken in certain areas of Eastern Punjab, represented by dialects like Ludhianvi¹ dealt with by Dr. B. D. Jain in his treatise on the Phonology of Panjabi.

I should therefore suggest the term 'Sindh-Sāgrī' instead of Lahnda or Western Panjabi. This term has many advantages. Firstly, it refers to a positive area, and not a mere direction, as 'Lahnda' suggests. Secondly, the name 'Sindh Sāgar' has a historical significance, for it was used by Akbar's Government to include not only the present 'Sindh Sāgar Doāb', but several other allied tracts, possibly Jhang and parts of Multan also.² Thirdly, the Sindh Sāgar Doāb is *par excellence* the 'Lahnda'-speaking area. The name 'Sindh-Sāgrī' would include all the northern dialects of 'Lahnda', except a small tract about thirty miles east of the Jhelum, where the language may be said to have emigrated. And it would also include most of the dialects spoken in the area south of the Salt Range. But here three objections may be raised: (1) The designation proposed would exclude trans-Indus dialects. But this objection has no validity, as the speakers of these dialects are evidently the descendants of emigrants from cis-Indus areas. (2) It would exclude the dialect spoken in Multan, as that city is not situated in the Sindh Sāgar Doāb. But as the dialect of Multan is practically identical with that spoken in the regions south of the west Salt Range, even this may be taken as an offshoot or emigration from the Sindh Sāgar Doāb. According to the *Punjab Gazetteer* 'the dialects spoken in the Dehra Ghazi Khan, Multan and Muzaffargarh Districts are homogeneous, resembling the dialects spoken in the *Sindh Sāgar Doāb*'.³ The popular name for the former dialects is 'Multani', presumably owing to the commercial importance of Multan, but from the historical point of view it seems to be more probable that the dialects mainly belonged to the Sindh Sāgar area, and that they spread both ways, eastward to Multan, which approaches the frontier of 'Lahnda', and westward to the trans-Indus side. (3) But a more serious objection may be raised, viz. that the proposed title would exclude what Grierson⁴ takes as the 'Standard' Lahnda, viz. the one spoken in the 'Shahpur, Jhang, Lyallpur, Montgomery,

¹ My friend Dr. B. D. Jain, to whom I showed some of my Lahnda transcriptions, suggests that no speaker of eastern Panjabi, except a Panjabi scholar, would understand even a sentence of my mother-tongue.

² Cf. R. G. Thomson, *Jhelum Settlement Report for 1874-80*, p. 24: 'Under Akbar the whole district (Jhelum) was included in the Sindh Sāgar Sarkār, which seems to have been generally equivalent to the present districts of Rawalpindi, Jhelum and Shahpur. It is impossible, however, to identify many of the 42 Mahals into which it was divided'.

³ *Punjab Gazetteer*: Bahawalpur State, 1904, p. 115, cf. Grierson, *LSI*, Vol. VIII, p. 381: 'The same form of speech is spoken across the Indus, in Dehra Ismail Khan and Bannu... Wherever it is spoken it is practically the same dialect, and closely agrees with Multani'.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 239.

Gujranwala and Gujrat districts'. But of these, Shahpur and Jhang are not far from the river Jhelum, and may be practically taken as belonging to the Sindh Sāgar area; while the dialects spoken in most of the other districts mentioned gradually shade off into Panjabi. It seems to be rather unfortunate that the dialects spoken in these areas were taken as the Standard: for linguistically the so-called 'Standard' is nearer to Panjabi than the other two branches of 'Lahnda' are, as the following examples will show:—

- (a) The dative of most of the northern dialects of 'Lahnda' is formed by the post-positions [ā], [ki], or [ā] (as ['rame ā, 'rame ki] (Poṭhwārī, 'to Rāma'); [mā] ('to me'). But the dative of the 'Standard' is formed by the post-position [nū] peculiar to Panjabi.
- (b) The genitive singular termination of personal pronouns in northern and southern dialects is [dā] (except [ra] in certain hilly tracts of Poṭhwārī, e.g. ['mēdā] or ['mēdā], but the 'Standard', has [ra] as it is in Panjabi, viz. ['merc, 'terā].
- (c) The oblique singular of both the northern and southern dialects has the termination *e* as in [ghare], but in the 'Standard', as in Panjabi, it is without *e*, e.g. [ghar].
- (d) The genitive 2nd pers. plural of both the Northern and Southern dialects has the stem [tus], cf. [tu'sāda] or [tu'sāda], but in the 'Standard' it is [tuh] as in Panjabi, cf. [tu'haḍa].
- (e) Some of the ordinal numbers are also different, e.g. while the Northern has [duḍ] and the Southern [beḍ], the 'Standard' has [duḍ] as in Panjabi.
- (f) The Co-relative Pronoun 3rd pers. singular oblique in the Northern and the Southern is [us], but in the 'Standard' it is [os], as it is in Panjabi.¹

Nor can the number of speakers claim for the dialect in question the designation of the 'Standard'. For according to Grierson the number ² of the speakers of the Northern dialects alone is about a million more than his 'Standard'. The title 'Sindh-Sāgrī', therefore, would not suffer even if Grierson's 'Standard' be excluded from it. But, properly speaking, the 'Standard' is an offshoot of Sindh-Sāgrī. Finally, the appropriateness of the title 'Sindh-Sāgrī' is further confirmed by its close affinity to the sister-language Sindhi.

Considering the fact, however, that a name once given, like any convention, tends to be maintained, we may acquiesce in

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 239, 243, 298, 300.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 243: 1,752,755 against 881,425 in the 'Standard'.

the acceptance of the conventional name 'Lahnda', though Lahnda, as Bailey¹ has rightly pointed out, does not sound well either to English or Indian ears. But as regards the main divisions of the language, we shall use the word 'Central' instead of the 'Standard' for the dialect in question—'Central' in the *geographical*, and not in linguistic sense. Accordingly, we shall divide Lahnda into three main branches: (1) Northern, comprising the dialects spoken in the north of the Salt Range, (2) Central, corresponding to Grierson's 'Standard', (3) Southern, corresponding to the so-called 'Multani', the characteristic features of which, especially cerebralization, have a closer affinity to Sindhi. The designation 'Southern' will include the dialects spoken in the west beyond the Indus, for, as stated above, even in these tracts it is practically the same dialect that is spoken.

LITERATURE.

Lahnda has hardly any literature of importance. In this sense it is a dialect *par excellence*. By the people of the central and eastern Punjab Lahnda is actually considered to be an inferior dialect—a language of rustics [ṛāṭki bolī], so that Lahnda speakers, when they come to those areas, feel shy of speaking their mother-tongue, and there has been therefore little impetus to any literary work in this language.

A few literary works, however, may be mentioned: (1) The *Janam Sākhī* of Guru Nānak, described in detail in Appendix A; (2) the *Asrār-i-Farīdī* of Ghulām Farīd, see Appendix B; (3) the *Sī-harfī* of Muhammed Azam; (4) the *Kāfīs* of Sayyad Mīran Shāh; (5) the *Saifal* of Saifal Shāh. The last three works are in the Bahawalpuri sub-dialect of Southern L.²

The Kahūnī (Kə'huṛī) Sub-dialect.

The sub-dialect primarily considered in this treatise is what we shall call Kə'huṛī, the present writer's mother-tongue. The Kə'huṛ³ is a basin of the Salt Range upland. To quote Thomson⁴: 'The Salt Range upland is split up into 3 main basins by the looped structure of the hills From west to east these are named Vunhār, Kahūn and Jhangar. Each of these is crossed by small subsidiary ridges which divide it still further'. Now the dialect spoken in Kə'huṛ is not the one described by Wilson as the 'Salt Range dialect'—a fact which has been noticed by Grierson.⁵

¹ *Bull. of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. II, p. 135.

² Cf. *Punjab Gazetteer*, 1904, Bahawalpur State, chapter on Education.

³ Possibly related to [kəu] 'olive tree', which grows in abundance in this area.

⁴ *Jhelum Settlement Report*, p. 6.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 433.

But the fact of Kə'huṛi being a distinct sub-dialect has not come to the notice of Grierson and Wilson. Grierson includes the dialect of this area in Dhanni which, as he says, is 'spoken not only over the Dhan (highlands north of Salt Range) but also in the portion of the Salt Range immediately to its south'.¹ There is no doubt that Kə'huṛi lies immediately to the south of the Dhan, but its dialect is distinct from Dhanni, as the following facts well show :—

(1) The first person oblique singular in Dhanni is [mɛ],² in Kə'huṛi it is [mâ], with a high-falling tone, a form characteristic of 'North-Eastern' Lahnda, and traceable to Prakrit accusative *māham*,³ Vedic *māhyam*. In the Salt Range it is [mɛ] or [mɛ ko].

(2) The Co-relative Pronoun third pers. oblique singular in Dhanni is [usɛ], in Kə'huṛi it is [usâ], probably formed analogically from [mâ].

(3) The post-position for the Personal Pronoun, oblique singular and plural in Dhanni is [nũ] as in Panjabi and Central L. In Kə'huṛi it is different: the oblique singular has no post-position at all, it is simply [mâ], but the plural forms have the post-position [n] instead of [nũ], as the following examples will show :—

	Dhanni.	Kə'huṛi.
1st pers. obl. sing. ..	mɛ nũ	mâ
1st pers. obl. pl. ..	əsānũ	əsān
2nd pers. obl. sing. ..	tɛnũ	tudâ
2nd pers. obl. pl. ..	tusānũ	tusān

While the plural forms seem to indicate that the corresponding forms in Kə'huṛi are a later phase of the dialect, in which [nũ] has worn down to [n], in forms like [mâ] Kə'huṛi has preserved the more archaic flexional forms.

(4) As regards present participles of verbs ending in long [a], in Dhanni, as in the neighbouring sub-dialect Pothwari, the long [a] remains unchanged, but in Kə'huṛi it is changed to [ɛ]; thus Dhanni has [khāde] (plural), Pothwari⁴ [khaṛe]; but Kə'huṛi [khēde]. This phonetic change is also regularly found in the neighbouring sub-dialect Awāṅkāri, while in Multani⁵ also a few forms occur, e.g. [pēda], which have been noted as irregular possibly loan-words. The form [khēda] may be traced to an earlier [khāindā], which seems to be influenced by the corresponding causative form which actually occurs in the

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 542, also cf. pp. 242, 433.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 544.

³ Pischel, p. 292.

⁴ *LSI, op. cit.*, pp. 546, 486.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 305.

oldest literary record of Lahnda, viz. the *Janam Sākhī* (see Appendix A). Thus on page 81 we find two sentences: [khavā-indā āhe] 'he was feeding'; (2) [malak huṃ kuch khavāindā hē] 'O Malak! will you give us something to eat?'

(5) There are several other points relating to accent, vocabulary, etc. which are peculiar to Kē'huṃ, and which will be dealt with in the sequel. Enough has been shown to establish the fact that Kē'huṃ is a distinct sub-dialect of Lahnda.

THE DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF LAHNDĀ.

The following points indicate where Lahnda begins and Panjabi ends:—

(1) The first point which strikes an observer as soon as he begins to travel in any Lahnda-speaking area, is the stress on compound words, particularly proper ¹ names. In Lahnda it is the second member of a compound that is stressed; while if the compound has three members, it is the last member that receives the stress. This sometimes affects the quantity as well as the quality of certain vowels. In Panjabi, however, the reverse is the case. If a compound word has two members, Panj. stresses the first member; while if the compound has three members, it stresses the first or the second member, but not the third, as L. does, as the following examples will show:—

L.	Panj.
radā 'kīṣṇ	'rāda kīṣṇ

Dr. Jain and I tested our pronunciations of this word at the kymograph (cf. the illustration facing p. 52). In the case of my pronunciation: (1) the tone and the stress of [kī] were higher, (2) the quantity of the vowel [ī] was distinctly longer, (3) there was no high-falling tone in [ra]. The reverse was the case in Jain's pronunciation,—the syllable [ra] had greater prominence, and had the high-falling tone. Again, in a word like [cāk ram 'das] (name of a village) Panj. will stress [cāk] or [ram], but L. will stress [das], so that the L. pronunciation will be [cāk ram 'das], the vowel [a] of [ram] being shortened. In several compound words even a syllable of the first member is dropped, or the quality of the vowel reduced, as the following contrast will show:—

L.	Panj.
mā 'sing	'mahā sing or mē'hā sing
zim 'dar	'zimi dar
mē 'raṭ	'maha raṭ or mē'haraṭ

¹ The above remark is confirmed by the observations of my friends Dr. B. D. Jain and Captain A. N. Sharma, I.M.S., both of whom are Panjabi speakers.

Figure 1

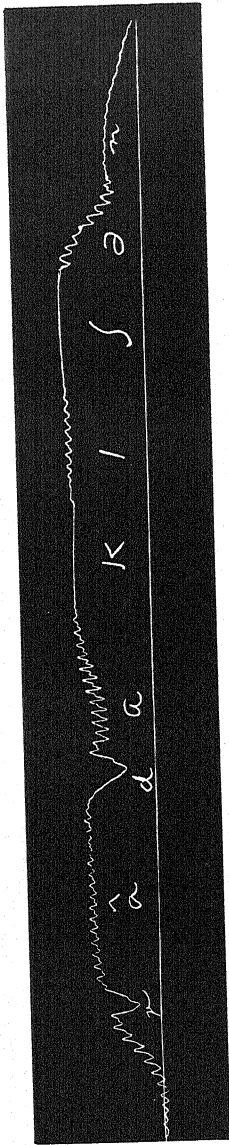
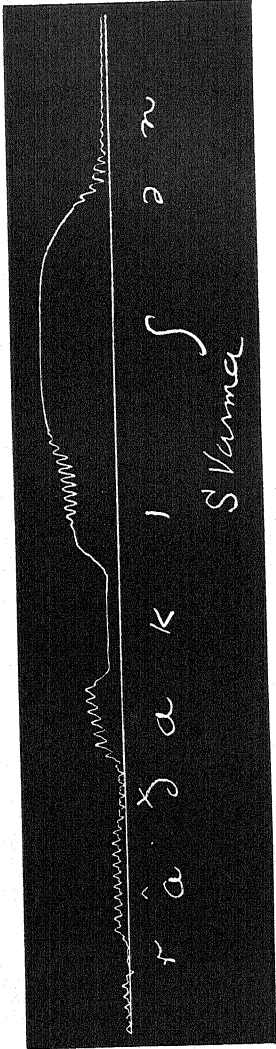


Figure 2



Kymographic tracings showing comparative pronunciation of the name [Rādhā-Kiśan] in Panjabi (Fig. 1) and Lahnda (Fig. 2).

Figure 1

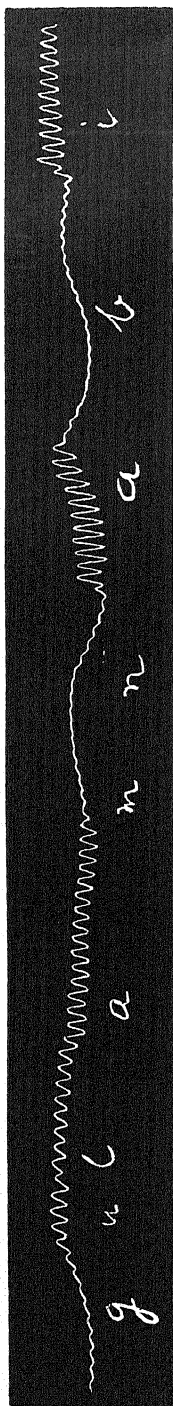
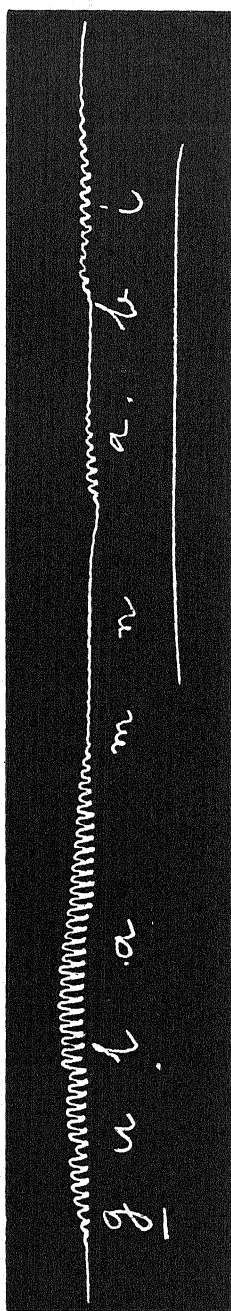


Figure 2



Kymographic tracings showing comparative pronunciation of the name [Ghulām-Nabī] in
Lahnda (Fig. 1) and Panjabi (Fig. 2).

The same is true of Muslim names :—

L.	Panj.
gulam 'naɓbi	gu'lam naɓi
xuda 'baɣɣəʃ	xu'da baɣʃ
rəhim 'bibi	rə'him bibi
maɓub 'begam	ma'bub begəm

I have noticed the same L. stress in Afghan pronunciation.

The above is true, however, only of determinative compounds or proper names ; in the case of Bahuvrihi compounds, L., like Panj., stresses the first syllable only :—

- [mũmit̪hɖa] .. A ceremony (lit. 'by which the mouth is sweetened') in which sweets are sent to the bride's home by the bridegroom's party before their departure for the marriage.
- [n̪ɳv̪ã-pur̪ãɳ̪] .. A ceremony (lit. in which the new is taken and the old rejected) in which new fruits or products of the season are taken.
- ['ber̪i-buɖɖã] .. A term of abuse (lit. one whose boat may be sunk).
- ['mã-moj̪a] .. A term of abuse (lit. one whose mother may die).

It is interesting to note that the accent of compound words in L. has a curious affinity to Vedic accent—a fact noticed by Indian grammarians. Thus Patañjali has pointed out that the second member of a determinative compound, e.g. [indra-śátru-] (enemy of Indra) is accented, while if the same compound has a Bahuvrihi sense, its first member will receive the accent,¹ e.g. [índra-śátru-] (lit. one whose enemy or destroyer is Indra).

But in the case of numeral Bahuvrihis we find an exception in Lahnda. In these compounds, the second, and not the first member, is stressed :—

- [barã-'dari] .. A room which has twelve doors.
- [barã-mã] .. A song in which the twelve months of the year are described.
- [cao-'masa] .. The rainy season, which consists of four months.

Even this exception finds a parallel in the Vedic accent of Bahuvrihi compounds, cf. [catur-akṣá-] 'four-eyed', [tri-nābhi-] ('having three navels').²

¹ Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I, p. 2, (Kielhorn): *yadi pūrva-pada-prakṛti-svaratvaṃ tato bahuvrīhiḥ, athāntodāttatvaṃ tatas tatpuruṣa itī*. Cf. Pāṇini, VI-2-1, VI-2-223. Macdonell: Vedic Grammar, pp. 92, 93.

² Macdonell, *ibid.*, p. 93.

The shortening of vowels in the first member of certain compounds has been also noticed in Pkt.,¹ cf. [itthiveya-]= [striveda], probably due to the stress on the second member. Among modern-languages, Marāṭhī has preserved² the old accent on compound stems, when those stems consist of verbal nouns, e.g. [sāghāḍo=sāṅghāṭaḥ].

It should be noted, however, that in the stress of single words L. and Panj. agree, both historically³ as well as in their present pronunciation, e.g. [kū'ara, mə'saṛ, ku'bhar]. But the above-mentioned distinctive feature of L. in compound words is so striking that it is reflected even in the English pronunciation of Lahnda speakers, who tend to pronounce *station-master*, *sitting-room*; and from the English pronunciation of strangers in the Panjab I can nearly always judge immediately whether their mother-tongue is Lahnda or Panjabi.

(2) The second distinctive feature of L. is the initial *h* of several words which in corresponding Panj. or Hindi words begin with a vowel or *s*, e.g. [hik, hi'kaṭṭha, he, ho, hassī, həsqa] (*LSI*, VIII, p. 260) 'to be able', Prakrit [happū], 'a tear', Skr. [asru-]. In such initials L. agrees with Sindhi, cf. [hiku], etc. This peculiar aspiration has been noticed in the Aśokan inscription discovered in the Lahnda-speaking area, viz. Shāhbāzgarhī,⁴ cf. [hide]=L. [hidde], [hahati]=[ahat].⁵ The tendency to this aspiration, then, seems to be quite old.

(3) The third feature, viz. the preservation of the *s* future has been noticed by Grierson.⁶ Lahnda, like Western Rāj. and Guj., in preserving this *s*, manifests a conservatism stronger than even certain dialects of Mahārāṣṭrī and Ardhamāgadhī, in which this *s* had been changed into *h*, cf. [hohimi]=L. [hosā], [gamihii], Ardhamāgadhī [gacchimi],⁷ in which *s* entirely disappeared,=e.g. L. [gacchsā].

(4) L. syntax shows certain peculiarities not to be met with in Panj.

(a) Corresponding to the Perfective in Slavonic, which, however, is formed by prefixes, e.g. Russian [znatī] 'to know', but [uznatī] 'to find out', there occurs in L., especially N., the auxiliary verb [ca] (lit. to lift, in the sense of 'up'), which can be used with any verb and in any tense or mood in the *active voice*, e.g. [mē usā ca ditta] 'I gave him away'; [ca ghm] 'take it up'; [mē usā utthe ca rakhsā] 'I will put it down there'. Panj. has no such universal form; like Hindi it expresses the idea

¹ Pischel, p. 83.

² Turner, *JRAS*, 1916, pp. 243, 244.

³ Turner, *JRAS*, 1916, p. 230.

⁴ Johansson : Shāhbāzgarhī, p. 129.

⁵ Hultzsch : *Inscriptions of Aśoka* : XXXVI.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 234. He has pointed out the affinity of L. in *s* future with West. Rāj. and Guj.

⁷ Pischel, pp. 363-365.

in several ways, e.g. by repeating a verb, as in [de ditta, le le] corresponding to the first two examples, cf. Hindi [de diā, le le]; sometimes by adding auxiliary verbs like [chaḍḍ, le], etc. as [rakh chaḍḍ, pi le], cf. Hindi [rakh chor or de, pi le]. L. can use [ca] with any verb in this sense. [ca] had originally the imperative sense, and then became a conjunctive part., cf. Māgha :

[purim avaskanda lunihi nandanam
muṣāṇa ratnāni harāmarāṅganāḥ]. I, 51.

'Having attacked the town, cut off Indra's garden, stolen the gems, and carried off the wives of the gods'.—This [ca] subsequently seems to have become an auxiliary verb. In the passive voice, however, other auxiliary forms like [piḍ, giḍ], etc. are used, as [və'pipiḍ] 'was lost'.

(b) There are certain particles the very utterance of which at once confirms the speaker's language to be Lahnda. Foremost among them is [vatt] 'again, well', and Panjabi speakers in order to parody Lahnda, often repeat the shibboleth,¹ [vatt ke piḍ kə'renē?] 'Well, what are you doing?' The word [vatt] generally means again, and is related to L. verb [vatt-] 'to wander', Skr. [vart-] 'to roll or wander', Sindhi [vatanu].

Another particle commonly used is [jaḥe] 'that', to introduce a direct speech, e.g. [us j'avab ditta jaḥe mər'saū] 'he replied "I will beat you"'. This [jaḥe] is related to another L. particle [jaḥe] which means 'that is', and has affinity to Skr. [jñā] 'to know'. Panj. uses [akhe] instead, cf. [akhiḍ] 'he said', Skr. [ākhyā] 'to relate'.

THE LAHNDĀ VOWELS.

Lahnda has ten vowel-phonemes, viz. [i, ɪ, e, ɛ, a, ʌ, ə, o, u, and ʊ]. The following diagrams will illustrate the tongue-position of these phonemes in relation to the cardinal vowels:—

¹ I remember a Lahnda speaker in Gujrat (Panjab) whose surname was [vatt] bestowed upon him by the Panjabi speakers of the town.

Fig. A:—The approximate Tongue Positions of the Lahnda Vowels compared with those of Cardinal Vowels. Lahnda Vowels=squares.

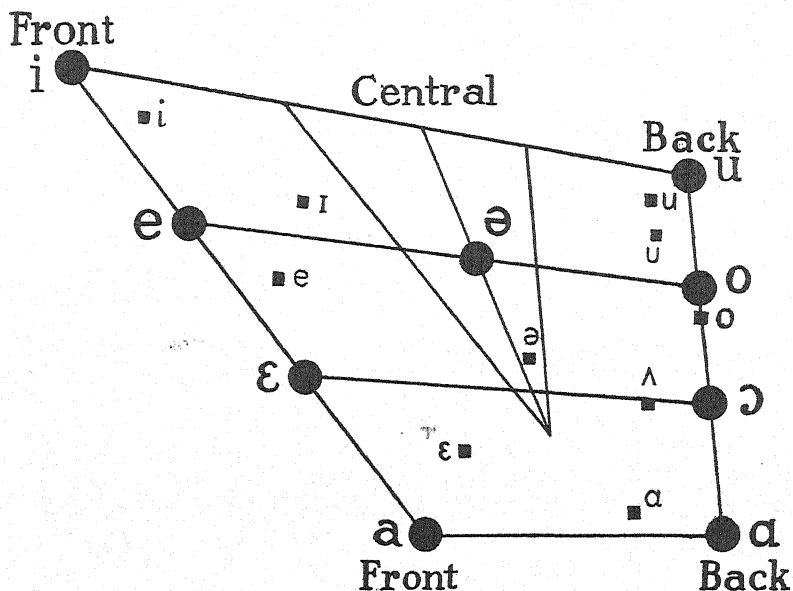
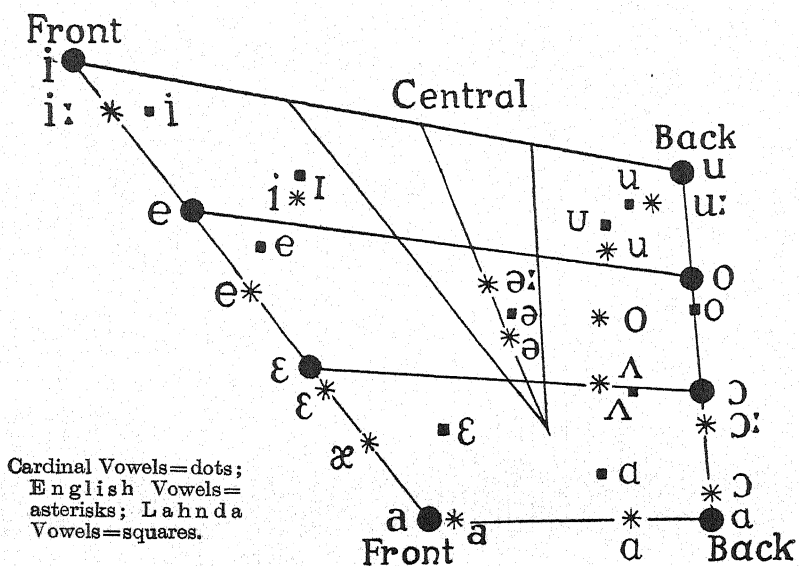


Fig. B:—The Tongue Positions of the Lahnda Vowels, compared with those of the Standard South English Vowels and Cardinal Vowels.



FRONT VOWELS.

Lahnda [i].

In the articulation of [i] the front of the tongue is raised high towards the hard palate without producing audible friction. The tip of the tongue normally touches the lower teeth, except when the [i] is preceded by a retroflex consonant as in [thik] 'right', [dik] 'a full drink' (but [pir] 'pain', [tir] 'arrow', [cin] 'China', [kiri] 'ant'). The lips are unrounded.

Like all the Lahnda front vowels, [i] is situated behind the cardinal front position. The sound has no trace of diphthongization. Further examples: [cik] 'a cry', [likh] 'a louse', [lik] 'a line', [bin] 'a harp', [hiri] 'a threat', [nila] 'blue', [pila] 'yellow'.

The vowel [i] occurs in varying degrees of closeness under various conditions of tone and stress:—

(1) When pronounced with high-falling tone [i] is closer than when it is toneless, cf. [pi] 'grind' but [pi] 'drink', [vi] 'twenty' but [vi] 'also', [pire] 'chairs' but [pire] 'pain' (oblique case).

(2) Stressed [i] is closer than the unstressed one, as may be noticed in compound words, cf. [fekir 'din] 'name of a man' but [din] 'faith', [sir 'pir] 'headache' but [pir] 'pain'. Final [i] when unstressed sounds somewhat like [ɪ], cf. [zimi'dar] 'landowner' but [zimi] 'land', though [zim'dar] is the more common pronunciation, in which [i] is entirely lost: [hari 'cand] 'name of a man' but [hari] 'name of a god'; [sita 'ram] 'name of a man' but ['sita] 'Sitā, Rāma's wife'.

Lahnda [ɪ].

In the articulation of [ɪ] the front of the tongue is less raised and more retracted than for [i] (see the diagram on p. 56), cf. [kis] 'who', [mis] 'pulse', [khit] 'heel', [sikh] 'learn', [hik] 'one', [gid] 'mucus from the eyes', [lid] 'horse's dung'. As compared to [i], [ɪ] is distinctly lax and effects semantic difference. It should therefore be taken as a separate phoneme, cf. [cir] 'late' but [cir] 'partition of the hair', [chit] 'a drop' but [chit] 'chintz', [likh] 'write' but [likh] 'a louse', [sikh] 'learn' but [sikh] 'a spit (iron bar for roasting)'. [ɪ] is laxer than the pre-tonic or unstressed [i], e.g. in [sri 'kɪʃən] 'name of a man', the [ɪ] of the syllable [sɪ] is not identical with the weakened [i] of the syllable [ri]. A final [ɪ], as in English [beɪbɪ] 'baby', does not exist in Lahnda: in that position the sound used is always a member of the phoneme [i].

Like [i], [ɪ] occurs in various degrees of closeness under different conditions of tone and stress:—

(1) When pronounced with high-falling tone [ɪ] is closer, cf. [gid] 'a vulture' but [gid] 'pus from the eye', [likh] 'do write (emphatic)' but [likh] 'write (unemphatic)'.

(2) When followed by retroflex consonants [ɪ] is distinctly more open and somewhat centralized, cf. [mitti] 'clay' but [mitti] 'date', [pit] 'beat the breasts' but [pit] 'bile', [kiddə] 'an exclamation in the Kabaddi game' but [kidde] 'where'. On the other hand, [ɪ] is closer than the normal type before [l] and [ɲ], cf. [milli] 'met', [kippē] 'how?' but cf. [mitti] 'date', [mis] 'a kind of lentils', [kitthe] 'where?'.

Lahnda [e].

In the articulation of [e] the front of the tongue is less raised than for [ɪ] (cf. the diagram on p. 56). The lips are slightly spread. The sound has no trace of diphthongization, cf. [təka] 'name of a man', [dhela] 'half-a-pice', [jə'lebi] 'name of a pastry', [khepi] 'a kind of shoe', [chek] 'a hole', [sek] 'warmth', [deg] 'a large kettle'.

Like [i] and [ɪ], the vowel [e] occurs in varying degrees of closeness under various conditions of tone and stress:—

(1) When pronounced with high-falling tone [e] is closer, cf. [sère] 'laurels' but [sere] 'name of a weight (oblique case)', [hê] 'this' but [he] 'is' (Multani dialects), [chê chô] 'exclamation for calling a goat' but [che] 'six'.

(2) Final [e] before or after stress sounds somewhat like [ɪ], cf. ['vétre də] 'of the vehicle' ['mɪ're də] 'of a cook', [məze 'dər] 'palatable', [je'r] [â] 'name of a man', [pɛc 'kaʃ] 'screw driver'. In the phrase [kêre pere] 'which pastries?' we have three [e]'s in varying degrees of closeness.

Lahnda (ɛ).

In the articulation of [ɛ] the front of the tongue is raised but to a less extent than for [e]. The lips are neutral, the mouth is fairly wide open, the lower jaw, especially in stressed syllables, comes down considerably, e.g. [vɛn] 'they may go', [tɛr], 'a young mare', [pɛsa] 'a pice', [kɛr] 'care', [pɛr] 'foot', [sɛl] 'rambling'.

The phoneme [ɛ] undergoes a variety of changes under various conditions of stress. When stressed, ɛ is more open, cf. [trɛ] 'three' but [trɛ pɛsɛ] 'three pice', [trɛ sɛ 'trɛ] 'three hundred and three'. On the other hand, with high-falling tone [ɛ] is not so open, cf. [trê] 'be afraid' but [trɛ] 'three', [lê] 'descend' but [lɛ] 'take (central dialects)', [kê] 'tell' but [kɛ] 'vomiting'.

In syllables immediately preceded or followed by stress, the vowel is so close that it may be taken as a subsidiary member of the phoneme [ɛ], cf. ['jɛ] 'victory' but [jɛ 'dai] 'name of a woman', [jɛ 'ram] 'name of a man' but cf. [jɛ ram 'jâ] where [ɛ] is not immediately followed by stress.

BACK VOWELS.

Lahnda [ɑ].

In the articulation of [ɑ] the tongue is low down in the mouth; such raising as there is being by the back of the tongue towards the soft palate.

Lahnda [ɑ] is slightly more forward than the English [ɑ] in [fɑðə] = 'father'. The mouth, in the articulation of [ɑ] is opened wider than in the case of [ɛ], both the lips are quite neutral, and neither of them is spread. Nor is there any rounding of the lips, cf. [rɑʃ] 'a kingdom', [kɑl] 'famine', [cɑr] 'four', [hɑl] 'condition'.

An important subsidiary member of this phoneme is the final unstressed [ɑ] of polysyllables, as in [cɑlɑ] 'custom', [sɑrɑ] 'the whole', [kɑlɑ] 'black'. It also occurs in corresponding Hindustani words. This final [ɑ] is different from [ʌ] as in [kɑprɑ] 'cloth', [pɑrdɑ] 'purdah'. The acoustic difference between these can be noticed without difficulty. This final vowel is only a *slightly centralized* [ɑ], and even then does not belong to the central area proper. It is more open than even the English [ʌ] in [bʌs] = 'bus'. It should be borne in mind that this subsidiary member occurs only in unstressed position; when final [ɑ] is stressed, it maintains the quality of the principal member, cf. [cə'lɑ] 'set in motion' but ['cɑlɑ] 'custom', [cu'ra] 'steal' but ['cʊrɑ] 'powder'. The subsidiary member is used when preceded or followed by stress, cf. [dɑs] 'a servant' but ['mêḍɑ dɑs] 'my servant', [rɑm] 'name of a god' (Rāma) but [rɑm dɑs] 'name of a man'.

Lahnda [ʌ].

In the articulation of [ʌ] the tongue is slightly raised at the back, but the point of the highest raising is a little advanced towards the centre (cf. the diagram on p. 56), cf. [ʌʃ] 'to-day', [ʌsi] 'we', [rʌb] 'God', [dʌk] 'stop', [tʌbbər] 'family'. When pronounced with high-falling tone [ʌ] is slightly closer, cf. [dʌb] 'bury' but [dʌb] 'name of a grass', [vʌḍḍe] 'old people' but [vʌḍḍe] 'cut'.

As a concomitant of stress, [ʌ] often represents an advanced [ɑ], cf. [ʌs dɑ] 'his' but [ʌs dɑ 'ghoɾɑ] 'his horse', [sɔnɑ] 'gold' but [sɔnʌ 'bɑi] 'name of a woman'. In Panjabi the pronunciation of the same word would be ['sɔnɑ 'bɑi].

Lahnda [ə].

[ə] is the 'central' vowel, the tongue-position being higher and more advanced than for [ʌ] (cf. the diagram on p. 56).

It is generally a concomitant of stress and does not occur in isolated monosyllabic words; but as it occasionally effects semantic difference, it may be taken as an independent phoneme, cf. [kərde] 'knife (oblique case)' or 'doing (plural)' but [kər de] 'do (for somebody else)', [səḍke] 'I am devoted to you' but [səḍke] 'having called', [sərke] 'road (oblique case)' but [sərke] 'having burnt', [məlke] 'a landlord (oblique case)' but [məlke] 'having rubbed', [həlke] 'a mad dog (oblique case)' but [həlke] 'having moved'.¹

As a concomitant of stress, [ə] is sometimes a centralized [ɑ], and sometimes a centralized [Δ]:—

(1) [ɑ], cf. [us dɑ] 'his' but [us də 'ʃəkət] 'his child', ['cɑ de] 'give it (away)' but [mā cə de] 'give it (away) to me'.

(2) [Δ], cf. [Δθ] 'eight' but [əθd̪r̪] 'eighteen', [sət] 'seven' but [sət̪r̪] 'seventeen', [cəl] 'move' (intransitive) but [cə'lɑ] 'set in motion', [Δm] 'mango' but [əm'cʊr] 'mango powder'.

Lahnda [o]

In the articulation of Lahnda [o] the back of the tongue is further raised towards the soft palate. It is a close, rounded vowel, and is the only Lahnda vowel which is on the 'cardinal line' (cf. the diagram on p. 56). It has no trace of diphthongization, though it is not so close as French [o], cf. [ghorɑ] 'horse', [chole] 'gram', [do] 'two', [d̪or] 'a string'. The vowel [o] occurs in varying degrees of closeness under various conditions of tone and stress:—

(1) With high-falling tone it is closer, cf. [rô] 'anger' but [ro] 'weep', [ko 'hald] 'name of a town' but [kô] 'kill', [o] 'O!' but [ô] 'that'.

(2) When preceded or followed by stress, it becomes considerably closer, and sounds like [u], cf. [ghor 'd̪or] 'horse-race' but [ghorɑ] 'a horse', [d̪o 'p̪er] 'noon', [d̪o 'ɑθi] 'exchange-marriage', [d̪o-'cittɑ] 'in a dilemma' but [d̪o] 'two'. In these examples, where [o] is followed by stress, it may be taken as a subsidiary member of the phoneme [o].

When preceded by stress, it is closer than the normal [o], but not so close as the above, cf. ['râdo d̪Δ] 'of Rādhā (name of a woman)', ['m̪itro d̪Δ] 'of Mitrā (name of a woman)'.

Lahnda [u].

In the articulation of [u], the back of the tongue is raised much higher than for [o] (cf. the diagram on p. 56). It is a

¹ The [Δ] phoneme occurs in these examples only in a word which is a compound of two originally separate words.

lax vowel, though it has no trace of diphthongization, cf. [suk] 'be dried', [ʈur] 'start', [dʱuk] 'meet', [kʰud] 'a hole'.

With high-falling tone [u] becomes closer, cf. [bôd] 'wisdom', [dôd] 'milk', [sôd] 'ginger', [ôn] 'they'.

It is similarly closer when stressed, e.g. before double consonants, cf. ['sukka] 'dry' but [suk] 'to be dried', ['kutta] 'a dog', ['bôssa] 'unornamented', ['nunnu] 'dumb'.

[u] is more open and obscurer before retroflex consonants, cf. [kut] 'beat' but [kutta] 'a dog', [phut] 'breach' but [phul] 'flower', [bud] 'be drowned' but [buk] 'a mouthful', [pur] 'mill-stone' but [pul] 'a bridge'.

Lahnda [u].

In the articulation of [u] the back of the tongue rises a little higher than in the case of [ʊ] (see diagram), while the rounding of the lips is more marked.

The difference between [u] and [ʊ] is significant, effecting semantic change, and hence they are different phonemes, cf. [kuri] 'a liar (feminine)' but [kuri] 'a girl', [ruʀi] 'dung-hill' but [ruʀi] 'fried', [sur] 'a pig' but [sur] 'a tune'.

With high-falling tone [u] is closer, cf. [phûʀ] 'a mat', [gûʀa] 'thick', [ûg] 'a nap'. It is more open when pretonic, cf. [bôddu] 'a simpleton' but [budu 'ram] 'name of a man', [rôdu 'jar] 'a maudlin fellow'.

THE LAHNDA DIPHTHONGS.

Lahnda has 31 diphthongs, viz.: [ei, ai, ʌi, ɔi, oi, ui; ie, ɛe, æe, ʌe, ɔe, ue; iɛ, iɑ, iɑ, eɑ, oɑ, uɑ, uɑ; io, io, eo, ɔo, ʌo, ɛo; iu, ɛu, ʌu, ɔu, ɔu].

These diphthongs vary in their degree of 'diphthongization', and in some cases it becomes difficult to determine whether they are diphthongs or two separate vowels. For instance, if we compare [mɛ ai] 'I came (feminine)' with English [it iz ai] 'It is I', the [ai] of Lahnda sounds as two vowels to some hearers, the second element of [ai] being more complete than the second element of the English [ai]. Nevertheless, the present writer is inclined to take a sound like [ai] as a diphthong, because (1) the total length of [ai] is shorter than the two isolated vowels [a] and [i] as in ['ɑ vi] 'do come', ['ɑ i giɛ] 'he has come after all'; (2) each element of [ai] is shorter than the isolated [ɑ] and [i] as in the above examples, while the first element is closer; (3) in isolated words or abnormally slow speech they may sound as separate vowels, but in normal connected speech they sound as diphthongs even to many foreign hearers; (4) most of these diphthongs are incidents of flexion and generally constitute the terminations of words. A word like [nai] 'barber'

would be felt as incomplete if pronounced [nɑ-i] or if pronounced like the English [nai] 'nigh' which may be pronounced [nai], [nae] or [naɛ]. Of these 31 diphthongs, the following never begin a word; they are always terminational:—

[ei]	as in	[ɛ 'dei]	'name of a woman'.
[ai]	„ „	[gai]	'went'.
[ui]	„ „	[dʊi]	'second', [sʊi] 'red'.
[ie]	„ „	[kapiɛ]	'let us cut'.
[ɛɛ]	„ „	[ʼkɛɛ nəl]	'owing to nausea'.
[ɛɛ]	„ „	[gɛɛ]	'went'.
[ue]	„ „	[dʊe]	'second' (oblique), [bʊe] 'doors'.
[iɛ]	„ „	[piɛ]	'fallen'.
[ia]	„ „	[jia]	'O heart', [pəpʰia] 'name of a bird'.
[ea]	„ „	[bhəfɛa]	'a sister's son', [bɛa] 'stale'.
[oa]	„ „	[khoa]	'milk-pudding', [côa] 'fountain'.
[ua]	„ „	[dʊani]	'a two-anna piece'.
[ua]	„ „	[dʊa]	'second', [sʊa] 'red'.
[io]	„ „	[pio]	'drink', [piɔ] 'grind'.
[io]	„ „	[ghio]	'ghee', [dʊo] 'give' (emphatic).
[eo]	„ „	[deo]	'give' (non-emphatic).
[eo]	„ „	[rêo]	'live'.
[ɛu]	„ „	[ʼkɛu nəl]	'owing to nausea'.
[au]	„ „	[khaʊ]	'a glutton'.
[Au]	„ „	[gaʊ]	'cow'.
[əu]	„ „	[kəʊ]	'name of a tree'.

Of the following 7 diphthongs it may be said that they can begin a word, but strictly speaking, they are whole words by themselves, formed by the coalescence of a root and a termination:—

[əi]	'was' (feminine).
[ai]	'(she) came' (feminine singular).
[ae]	'they came'.
[əe]	'they were'.
[oe]	'O!'
[ao]	'come, sir!'
[ʌɑ]	'was' (masculine).

The following 3 can stand at the end of an initial syllable, but even they cannot be in the beginning of a word:—

[ʌo]	as in	['nʌokər]	'servant'.
[Au]	„ „	[pʌuɑ]	'sandals'.
[iu]	„ „	[dʊut]	'a wick'.

A striking feature of the vowel-system of Lahnda is the copious number (viz. 10) of its rising diphthongs, when the first element is toneless and unstressed:—

[ai]	as in	[gai]	'she went'.
[ɛi]	„ „	[rɛi ɛi]	'she had lived'.
[ui]	„ „	[dui]	'second'.
[ɛe]	„ „	[gɛe]	'they went'.
[iɑ]	„ „	[giɑ]	'he went'.
[uɑ]	„ „	[duɑni]	'a two-anna piece'.
[io]	„ „	[ghio]	'ghee'.
[ɔo]	„ „	[pɔo]	'fall'.
[iu]	„ „	[piu]	'father'.
[Au]	„ „	[gAu]	'cow'.

It must be borne in mind, however, that these 'rising' diphthongs vary in their degree of 'rise', the higher sonority of the second element of some of these diphthongs may even be counterbalanced by the stronger stress on the first element, e.g. [io] in [ghio] 'ghee' and [iɑ] in [piɑ] 'give to drink' have no doubt a rising perceptibility, but [io] in [dɪo] and [iɑ] in [pɪɑ] 'fallen' are falling diphthongs.

The following 5 are falling diphthongs :—

[ai]	as in	[nai]	'barber'.
[oi]	„ „	[hoi]	'become'.
[ɛe]	„ „	[hɛe]	'alas !'.
[ɔo]	„ „	[ɟɔo]	'go'.
[au]	„ „	[khaʊ]	'a glutton'.
[ɛu]	„ „	[kɛu]	'name of a tree'.

Of the remaining 15 diphthongs we cannot say definitely whether they are rising, falling, or 'even' diphthongs—the difference of perceptibility between the first and the second element being not very striking :—

[ei]	as in	[mɛ'trei]	'step-mother'.
[ui]	„ „	[dui]	'second' (feminine).
[ie]	„ „	[kapie]	'let us cut'.
[ɛe]	„ „	[kɛe]	'owing to nausea'.
[ɛe]	„ „	[o 'gɛe ɛe]	'they had gone'.
[ue]	„ „	[due]	'second' (plural masculine).
[iɛ]	„ „	[giɛ]	'is gone'.
[iɑ]	„ „	[gapiɑ]	'O talkative fellow'.
[eɑ]	„ „	[seɑ]	'soaked'.
[oɑ]	„ „	[khoa]	'milk pastry'.
[uɑ]	„ „	[dua]	'second'.
[io]	„ „	[sio]	'sew'.
[eo]	„ „	[dheo]	'obtained'.
[əo]	„ „	[ʼitthe əo]	'have you been here ?'.
[ɛu]	„ „	[ɟɛu]	'name of a man' (oblique).

The following table will show how far Lahnda diphthongs effect semantic difference:—

[e] (i). [ɛ 'deis] 'it is [ɛ 'dei] 'name of a woman'. [ɔai] 'a nurse'. [ɛ 'dai] 'name of a woman'. [d̥ɔi] 'curd'. [doi] 'only two'. [dui] 'second' (feminine).	[i] (e). [sie] 'let him sow'. [s̥e] 'hundred only'. [s̥e] 'date of marriage' (oblique). [s̥e] 'hatched'. [s̥e] 'endured'. [soe] 'vegetable greens' (oblique). [sue] 'large needles'.	[ɪ] (ɛ). [d̥hɪɛ] 'has been obtained'. [ɪ] (a). [d̥hɪa] 'obtained'. [d̥heas] 'he has obtained'. [d̥hoa] 'only the day preceding the marriage day'. [d̥huɔ] 'help to load'. [d̥huɔ] 'anus'.
[i] (o). [pio] 'drink'. [pio] 'father'. [peos] 'it is his father'. [pao] 'put'. [pao] 'fall'. [p̥əu] 'the dawn'.	[s̥ruɪ] 'sewing'. [s̥eu] 'hundred' (oblique). [s̥əu] 'hare' (oblique). [g̥au] 'a cow'. [s̥əu] 'enduring'.	

It will be clear from the above table, that of the 31 diphthongs, there are only five, viz.: [ei], [ec], [eo], [ɪu] and [ɔu] which by themselves fail to effect semantic difference. The first four of them require an additional grammatical suffix in order to be significant.

Lahnda [ei].

[ei], as in [bhe'fei] 'niece' (sister's daughter), [m̥ə'trei] 'step-mother', is a falling diphthong, the stress and the sonority being higher in the first element [e], though the quantity of this element seems to be shorter and its quality closer than that of the normal [e] as in [devi] 'goddess'. The second element [i] is similarly shorter in quality and weaker in sonority than the normal Lahnda [i] as in [devi].

[ei] occurs at the end of certain feminine words as [m̥ə'trei] 'step-mother', [bhe'fei] 'niece', [dei] for [devi], though in this case [ei] has now been considerably superseded by [ɔi], [ɔai] being the more frequent pronunciation.

Lahnda [ai].

In its purest form, [ai] occurs as a diphthong when accompanied by the high-falling tone, where the transition from [a] to [i] is immediate, cf. [phâi] 'gallows', [bâi] 'pole of a bedstead', [râi] 'sowing-time'. But even when it is toneless, the transition seems to be quick enough for a diphthong, cf. [mê ai ā] 'I have come'.

The first element [a] of [ai] is closer than the normal Lahnda [a] as in [aɣa] 'come on'. In slow speech, however, it may be a question whether [ai] is a diphthong or a group of two syllables, e.g. in [nai aia], spoken slowly, [nai] may in certain cases be taken as a dissyllable. But at the normal rate of speech, [ai] will be monosyllabic and therefore a diphthong.

When followed by stress, as in compound words, [ai] is a pure diphthong, cf. [bhâi] 'brother' but [bhâi 'cara] 'brotherhood', [lai] 'attached' but [lai 'laɣ] 'a blind follower'. The first element becomes closer and is centralized.

Lahnda [Δi].

[Δi] occurs as a pure diphthong both in stressed and unstressed position, cf. [gəð'vai] 'valet', [hər 'dai] 'name of a woman', ['dhe pai] 'fallen', [mar gai] 'died'.

It is difficult to determine whether in the stressed position [Δi] is a rising or a falling diphthong, for though the [Δ] has the stress, [i] gains in length.

The Δ in [Δi] is slightly closer than the normal Lahnda [Δ], cf. [huɸ 'gal gai] 'it is now rotten'. When occurring between two stresses it is even still closer, cf. ['dhe pai də 'pattən] 'a shabby place'.

Lahnda [øi].

[øi] occurs generally with high-falling tone, and, strictly speaking, should be taken as another phase of [Δi]. But as the first element of [øi] is considerably closer than the [Δ] of [Δi], it may be considered as a separate diphthong, cf. [râi] 'lived', [vêi] 'account-book', [êi] 'was', [sêi] 'endured', [kêi] 'shovel'.

Even when the tone is lost after a stress, the first element slightly maintains its closeness, and may therefore be transcribed as [ø], cf. [o vaɸ rei e] 'she has reached', [e mēdi kai e] 'this is my shovel'.

Lahnda [oi].

[oi] is a pure diphthong both in toned and toneless syllables, cf. [kôï hoi] 'slaughtered', [môï] 'too much attached to family', [môï] 'dead' (term of abuse to young girls), [lôï] 'the Lohri festival', [loi] 'a blanket', [khôï] 'snatched', [rôï] 'peevish'. The [o] of [oi] is closer and shorter than the normal Lahnda [o] in [khot] 'allay', [cor] 'thief'.

In occasional emphatic speech, however, [o] is considerably lengthened, and then [oi] is no longer a diphthong, but a dissyllabic group, cf. [e gal kadī 'ho:i e] 'has this thing ever occurred?', [mo:i] 'naughty girl!'

Lahnda [ui].

The [u] of [ui], as in [sui] 'needle', [dui] 'second', is closer and shorter than the normal Lahnda [u] as in [sur] 'a pig', [dur] 'distant'. In high-falling tone it is a falling diphthong, cf. [sui] 'red', [khûi] 'a well', [phirûi] 'an ulcer'.

It occurs only at the end of words, but sometimes an abbreviated form of the preposition [vic] 'in' is added to it, and then it becomes [uic]. In that case the first element of [ui] is somewhat lowered, cf. [duic] 'in the second' (feminine), [suic] 'in the needle', [khûic] 'in the well'.

Lahnda [ie].

[ie] is an uncertain diphthong, and its first element is often so quickly pronounced that it gives the impression of a semi-vowel. After the 'terminal plosives', i.e. after the labials and the velars, it tends to maintain its monosyllabic quality, as in ['kapie] 'let us cut', ['chakie] 'let us eat'. The prominence of [ie] here gradually rises without a break, but after other consonants, and after the high-falling tone, [ie] tends to be dissyllabic, cf. [sadie] 'let us call', [bacie] 'let us avoid', [bânie] 'let us bind', [pârie] 'let us read'. In these examples [ie] may properly be transcribed as [ije].

Lahnda [ɛe].

This diphthong also occurs at the end of certain words due to the Lahnda termination [e], eg. ['kɛe nal] 'on account of nausea', [jɛe nal] 'with Jai (name of a man)'. As a doubtful case it may occur when the particle [e] 'only' is added to a word ending in [ɛ] as in [sɛe rɛpajje] 'only a hundred rupees'. Here a minimum of prominence between [ɛe] and [e] is not unlikely, for these are felt by the speaker as two separate words.

In normal fluent speech a group of the two words [ê] 'is', [e] 'or' makes the single diphthong [êe]; here [e] being an abbreviation of [ve] 'or', as in [tusɔɔ kol êe ke nâi] 'is it with you or not?'. But in occasional emphatic utterance [ê e] will form separate syllables.

Lahnda [ae].

[ae] is evidently a diphthong in high-falling tone, e.g. in [râe] 'way' (oblique), [sâe] 'breath', [ghâe] 'grass' (oblique). But it is also a pure diphthong when toneless, pretonic, stressed

or unstressed, e.g. ['hæ mæ] 'O mother!', [kɪræ 'dær] 'tenant', [ɪæ 'dæd] 'property'.

Lahnda [æ].

[æ], as in [gæ] 'went', is a rising diphthong. Its [ʌ] is more open than the [ʌ] of [gʌi], though after a stress it seems to be as close as the [ʌ] of [ʌi], cf. ['mɑr gæ] 'they are dead', ['mɑr gʌi] 'she is dead', ['dʰɛ pæ] 'they fell down', ['dʰɛ pʌi] 'she fell down'.

[æ] occurs at the end of plural past participles as [gæ] 'went', [pæ] 'fallen', [dʰæ] 'obtained'.

Lahnda [æ].

Like [æ], [æ] occurs at the end of words, but most frequently with high-falling tone, as in [rê] '(they) lived', [sê] 'endured'. It also occurs as an independent word as [ê] 'they were' and when, after a stress, [ê] loses the tone, it is still distinct from [æ], as in [o 'ittʰe] 'they were here' but cf. ['mɑr gæ] 'they died'.

The [ə] of [æ] is more open than that of [əi], and the present writer can feel a distinct muscular tension in the articulation of the latter.

Lahnda [œ].

[œ] is a pure diphthong with high-falling tone, e.g. [gœ] 'cakes of cow's dung', [rœ nɔl] 'with anger'; but even without the tone it may be taken as a diphthong, for its first element is shorter and closer than the normal Lahnda [o], e.g. [dœ] 'both', [hœ] 'may become', [mœ] 'they died', [boe boe] 'women's exclamation in mourning'. [œ] is parallel to [oi], as both are linked grammatically as parallel terminations. Like [oi], it occasionally becomes dissyllabic in emphatic or interjectional utterance, cf. [ho:e te tã nã] 'it can happen if such a thing takes place', [ure ɑ o:e] 'O, come here!'

Lahnda [ue].

The [u] of [ue], as in [sue] 'large needles', [due] 'others', is shorter than the normal Lahnda [u] as in [kur] 'a lie', [dur] 'distant'. With high-falling tone it is a falling diphthong, as [bûe] 'doors', [khûe] 'well' (oblique).

Like [ui] it occurs only at the end of words, but before the post-position [c] (cf. p. 66) its first element is somewhat lowered, cf. [sue] 'canals' but [suec] 'in the canal', [duec] 'in the second' (masculine).

Lahnda [iɛ].

The second element of [iɛ], as in [giɛ] 'is gone', is closer than the normal Lahnda [ɛ] in [kʰɛr] 'welfare', [tɛr] 'a young mare'.

[iɛ] occurs as a termination of the present tense, cf. ['khāda piɛ] 'he is eating', ['kar saɪiɛ] 'he has done', [turgɛ] 'he is gone', ['itthe i riɛ] 'has he remained here?'

Lahnda [ia].

[ia], like [ie], is an uncertain diphthong, because its first element tends to be a semi-vowel. It sounds more like a diphthong after breathed than before voiced consonants, cf. [gapia] 'O talkative fellow', [chakia] 'O glutton', [chalia] 'a deceiver', [kattiā] 'spun things' (feminine) but [pāpiā] 'read', [lābiā] 'obtained', [sāpiā] 'burnt', [dābiā] 'buried', [sadiā] 'called', [bāniā] 'fastened'.

Lahnda [iɑ].

[iɑ] is sometimes a rising and sometimes a falling diphthong. In transitive or causative forms like [liɑ] 'bring', [piɑ] 'give to drink' or in nouns like [piɑr], we have the first variety, the second element being more perceptible. But when the first element has the tone or the stress, it is a falling diphthong, cf. [liɑ] 'descended', [piɑ] 'fallen', [giɑ] 'gone', [fiɑ] 'had been'.

The latter variety occurs in past participles.

Lahnda [ea].

In high-falling tone the monosyllabic quality of [ea] is evident, cf. [senēa] 'a message', [bēa] 'stale'. It is less apparent, however, when [ea] is toneless, as in [seɑ] 'soaked', [dheɑ] 'obtained'. Nevertheless, as prominence descends without interruption even in these examples, [ea] may be taken as a diphthong. Moreover, the [ɑ] of this [ea] is closer than the normal final [ɑ] of Lahnda polysyllables as in ['cɑlɑ] (cf. p. 59) and thus further indicates a weaker prominence.

Lahnda [oɑ].

In high-falling tone the monosyllabic quality of [oɑ] is evident, cf. [gôɑ] 'a cake of cow's dung', [côɑ] 'a fountain'. But it is also fairly apparent in [khoɑ] 'milk pastry', [doɑ] 'only two', [tôɑ] 'a pit'.

When toneless, [oɑ] is an even diphthong, but when accompanied by the tone, it is a falling diphthong, as in [côɑ].

Note, again, how in [ôɑ] 'that very' two different words have given a single diphthong.

Lahnda [ua].

[ua] occurs medially as in [kuara] 'bachelor', [juaria] 'a gambler', [sua] 'Monday', [juar] 'oats', [rucl] 'a particle'.

The [u] of [ua] is a little closer than the normal Lahnda [u] as in [tur] 'start'.

[ua] also occurs finally in the vocative case and in certain transitive verbs, as [guruua] 'O Guru!' (contemptuous), [ullua] 'O owl!' (stupid), [sua] 'make (one) sleep'. It is always a rising diphthong.

Lahnda [ua].

The diphthong [ua] occurs only in the final position, while its medial parallel is sometimes [ua], cf. [duu] 'second' but [duani] 'a coin of two annas', [juu] 'gambling' but [juaria] 'gambler'. In these examples [ua] apparently arises from the weakened prominence of [u], and its first element becomes almost semi-vocalic.

When accompanied by tone, [ua] is evidently a diphthong, cf. [sûa] 'red', [bûa] 'door', [cûa] 'a rat'.

The [u] of [ua] is slightly more open than the normal Lahnda [u] as in [dur] 'distant'.

Lahnda [io].

[io] as a diphthong occurs at the end of certain verbal forms as [pio] 'drink', [pîo] 'grind', [sio] 'sew'. It also occurs in the word [dhio] 'O daughters!'. In certain cases, however, the glide between the two elements sounds somewhat like a weak semi-vowel, e.g. [kuriô] 'O girls', [vâdîô] 'cut', [bânîô] 'bind', [câlîô] 'start'.

Lahnda [io].

[io] as a diphthong occurs in the pronominal suffix [os] after [r], [l], [f] and [n] as in ['karios] 'he did', ['dalios] 'he crushed', ['suřios] 'he heard', ['bânios] 'he fastened'. But [io] does not occur as a diphthong after plosives, e.g. ['ditjos] 'he gave', ['dithjos] 'he saw', ['chakjos] 'he ate', ['lâbhjos] 'he found'.

The diphthong [io] also occurs at the end of some nouns as [pio] 'father', [ghio] 'ghee', (cf. p. 63).

Lahnda [eo].

[eo] occurs as a terminational diphthong in fluent normal conversation, e.g. [dheo] 'obtained' in [ke dheo ne] 'what did you obtain?', [seo] 'soak', [deo] 'give' (unemphatic). The [e] of [eo] is closer than the normal Lahnda [e] in [de] 'give' (thou).

Lahnda [ao].

[ao] occurs as a common diphthong, as in Hindustani and Panjabi, at the end of Imperative 2nd person plural, e.g. [jao] 'go', [ao] 'come', [khaɔ] 'eat', [na~o] 'bathe', [râora] 'straight ahead', [jao ji jao] 'get away'.

Lahnda [Δo].

[Δo] is a frequent diphthong occurring medially and at the end of words, cf. [ˈnaokər] 'servant', [ˈsaɔda] 'a bargain', [saΔo] 'a hundred'. The second element of this diphthong is more open than the English [u] in [naʊn] (noun) and belongs to the [o] rather than to the [u] area, with which it is likely to be confused.

Lahnda [eo].

[eo] always occurs in high-falling tone, and is a substitute for [Δo] when this tone occurs, e.g. [rêo] 'live' (2nd pers. Imperative), [sêo] 'endure', [bêo] 'sit', [lêo] 'descend'.

Lahnda [iu].

[iu] is a diphthong in which no fricative element is audible, as it is in the English word [dju] 'due', e.g. [jiuɸ] 'to live', [siuɸ] 'to sew', [piu] 'father' (oblique), [driu] 'daughter'.

Lahnda [eu].

The termination [u] of the oblique case gives the diphthong [eu], as [keu di dē'va] 'a medicine for nausea', [jeu dē 'ghar] 'the home of Jai'.

The [ɛ] of [eu] is closer than the normal Lahnda [ɛ] as in [bɛr] 'berry'.

Lahnda [au].

[au] occurs as a diphthong (1) when [u] is a termination in the oblique case, as in [bhi'rau nal] 'with his brother', (2) when [u] occurs as a termination to show some habit, often undesirable, as in [khau] 'a glutton', [cau] 'an instigator', [ke'mau] 'a bread-winner'.

Lahnda [Au].

[Au] also occurs frequently in the final position, as [gAu] 'cow', [mjAu] 'name of a man', [dē'rau] 'oatmeal'. But

it also occurs medially in ['nau^vɑ] 'a barber' (contemptuous), ['pau^vɑ] 'sandals'.

Lahnda [əu].

[əu], like [əo], occurs only in high-falling tone, e.g. [kəu] 'name of a tree', [səu] 'enduring', [bəu] (nasalized) 'much or many'.

The general characteristic features of the Lahnda vowel-system may now be noted:—

(1) The Lahnda front vowels are retracted vowels, none of them except [o], being on the 'line' of the cardinal figure.

(2) When stressed or accompanied with a high-falling tone, most of the Lahnda vowels are closer than otherwise, as in [pi] 'drink', [pi] 'grind' (cf. pp. 57, 58).

(3) When followed or preceded by stress the Lahnda vowels undergo violent 'reductions', the weaker varieties being substituted for the normal ones. Thus the neutral vowel [ə] is substituted sometimes for [ɑ] and sometimes for [Δ] when they are pretonic (see pp. 59, 60), while [Δ] often appears for [ɑ] in unstressed position as in [us⁽²⁾Δɑ 'ghoɾɑ], 'his horse', [us⁽²⁾Δə 'jakət] 'his child' but [us Δɑ] 'his'. Similarly [i] is 'reduced' and sometimes entirely lost as in [zim'dɑɾ] (cf. p. 57). Even [ɛ] sounds like [e] in this position as in [ɛ 'dɑi] (see p. 58).

(4) Lahnda has no final [i] or [u].

(5) A striking feature of Lahnda is the juxtaposition of many vowels in connected speech; the pitch of these 'juxtaposed' vowels becomes remarkably low at the end of a sentence, where there often occurs a peculiar sound somewhat like the 'voiced glottal stop' as in [o 'vɑde 'vele sə'vele gɪ'rã ã ɑɪɑ] 'he came to the village early in the morning'. The final vowels [ã ã ɑɪɑ] are pronounced with a low pitch accompanied by this peculiar sound.

[bir'balle 'akbre ã 'akhɪɑ] 'Bīrbal said to Akbar'.

[mẽ 'thakki pai ãiã] 'I was tired'.

(6) No such juxtaposition, which is due to peculiar grammatical forms, occurs in Hindustani or Panjabi, so far as the present writer is aware.

(7) The quantity of vowels in the pretonic position is distinctly shorter than normal (see pp. 52, 109).

(8) Many of the Lahnda vowels are nasalized, cf. pp. 89, 90.

(9) Lahnda is peculiarly rich in diphthongs, perhaps one of the richest languages in the world in this respect.

(10) These diphthongs are the incidents of flexion, and most of them occur only at the end of words. Some of them become dissyllabic in slow or emphatic speech.

(11) Nearly one-third of these are 'rising' diphthongs, and the perceptibility of each element of the Lahnda diphthong often varies with tone or stress.

(12) No Lahnda diphthong has a final [ɪ] or [ʊ].

THE LAHND A CONSONANTS.

Lahnda has 37 consonant-phonemes, as the following table will show :—

	Bilabial.	Labio-dental.	Dental.	Alveolar.	Palato-alveolar.	Retroflex.	Palatal.	Velar.	Glottal.
Plosive ..	p, ph b, bh	..	t, th d, dh	..	c, ch j, jh	t̪, th̪ d̪, dh̪	..	k, kh g, gh	..
Nasal ..	m	..	(n)	n	ɲ	[ɳ̐], [ɳ̐]	..	ŋ	..
Lateral ..	..	..	l	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rolled ..	..	..	r	..	..	..	..	..	..
Flapped ..	..	..	..	..	..	ɾ, ɽ	..	..	..
Fricative ..	(f)	f	s, z	..	ʃ	..	..	x, ɣ	h
Semi-vowel ..	..	v	..	..	..	..	j	..	..

Besides the above, there frequently occurs a peculiar sound somewhat like creaky voice (voiced glottal stop ?) under certain conditions (see pp. 71, 82).

THE LAHND A PLOSIVE CONSONANTS.

Lahnda has 20 plosive consonant-phonemes, as given in the above table, and as detailed below :—

The Lahnda [p], [ph].

In the articulation of [p] and [ph] both the lips come together, entirely closing the air-passage, and then there is a sudden explosion of air, the breath in the case of [ph] being more copious, while the soft palate, as in the case of all consonants, is raised to close the nasal passage. The lips are not rounded, but their muscular tension is strong when these consonants are followed by the high-falling tone, cf. [pɑ] 'put' but [pɑ̃] 'manure', [phɑɾi] 'a slice' but [phɑ̃i] 'gallows'.

These, like all other plosive consonants, become slightly more perceptible before the high-falling tone and may be considered as subsidiary members of the phonemes [p] and [ph].

The plosion of breath in [ph] is even more copious when it is followed by the high-falling tone. In either case it is much greater than for the English [p], and to the present writer the English [p] always sounds as [p] and not [ph].

It need not be pointed out that unaspirated plosives [p], [t], [c], [t̪], [k] and the aspirated ones [ph], [th], [ch], [t̪h], [kh] are different phonemes, as in [p̪ari] 'tore' but [ph̪ari] 'a slice', [k̪aʃi] 'one-eyed woman' but [k̪haʃi] 'a mine' (oblique), [t̪ale] 'downstairs' but [th̪ale] 'barren land' (oblique), [cole] 'shirts' but [chole] 'gram', [t̪ok] 'interrupt' but [t̪hok] 'to hit hard'. Similarly for the voiced plosives—a well-known fact.

The breathed aspirated consonants lose their aspiration before [s] and [ʃ], cf. [l̪iph] 'spleen' but [us̪ā lip s̪aʃi] 'the spleen has killed (lit. burnt) him', [l̪ikh] 'write' but [l̪iks̪ā] 'I will write', [h̪ath] 'hand' but ['de h̪at s̪āj̪ā] 'Give thy hand, O Lord!', [rak̪h] 'keep' but [k̪ōʃ te rak̪ 'ʃar̪əm] 'have some shame'.

These examples and kymograph tracings show that before a pause, as in [l̪iph], etc. breathed aspirated plosives maintain their aspiration. This preservation of aspiration before a pause becomes all the more striking when we consider the fact that other plosives, when final, lose their plosion (cf. pp. 83, 84), as [sap] 'serpent', [s̪ak] 'a chip of wood'. Before plosives they not only maintain their aspiration, they tend to be fricatives, cf. [tus̪ən 'l̪iph(ʔ) te n̪ōi] 'you haven't got the spleen?', [l̪ikh(x) ke] 'having written', [h̪ath(θ) kar̪ vic, te d̪il ʃar̪ vic] 'the hand in the work, the heart in the Beloved' (Proverb: 'Heart within, and God o'erhead').

Lahnda [b] and [bh].

[b] and [bh] are the voiced correspondents of [p] and [ph]. The voice-element of [b] is not so perceptible as in the French [b], but it becomes even more perceptible when preceded or followed by the high-falling tone, cf. [ber] 'berry', [rab] 'God' but [b̪ā] 'arm', [l̪ābb̪iɔ] 'obtained', [l̪āb̪] 'find out'. Kymograph tracings show that the vibrations of a voiced plosive increase when it is preceded by the high-falling tone.

[b] and other voiced plosives comparatively lose in voice before a pause, as [rab] 'God', [sag] 'vegetable greens', [s̪ad] 'call'; they lose even more before the breathed consonants, cf. [raʔ k̪it̪he] 'where is God?', ['d̪aʔsi] 'he will bury', [s̪əʔke] 'I am devoted to you'.

The *voiced* aspirated consonants, unlike the breathed ones, lose their aspiration before a pause, the aspiration being converted into the high-falling tone of the preceding vowel, cf.

[lə'bha] 'help to find out', but [lâb] 'find out', [və'dha] 'cause to grow' but [vâd] 'grow', [lə'gha] 'penetrate' but [lâg] 'enter', [və'dha] 'cause to cut' but [vâd] 'cut'. The same phenomenon occurs before other plosives, and before the breathed fricatives [ʃ] and [s], the voice also being considerably lost, cf. [lâḥsā] 'I shall find out', [lâḥke] 'having obtained', [lâḥ te sei] 'just try to find out', [vâḥsi] 'he will grow', etc.

Initial voiced aspirated consonants, unlike those in Panjabi and Himalayan Lahnda, preserve the voice, thus we say [bhi'ra] 'brother', [ghâ] 'grass', [dhâ] 'throw down' but not [p'ra], [k'a] and [t'a] as Panjabi does, Lahnda often using even the high-falling tone after these initials as in the last two examples. For further examples on the tones after these consonants, cf. p. 93.

Lahnda [t], [th].

In the articulation of [t] and [th] the tip of the tongue touches the teeth, while a part of the blade touches the teeth-ridge; the lips, the tongue and the jaws are slack, the plosion of breath after [t] is much less than after the English [t], while in the case of [th] it is much more so.

Lahnda [t] is less clearly dental than the French [t], in the articulation of which the muscular tension of the tongue seems to be greater. Nor is there any devocalization of the succeeding [r], [l] and [j] as often occurs in French, cf. [trɛ] 'three', [pâtla] 'thin', [dītjos] 'he gave', but cf. French [trāʃe] = 'trancher', [pitje] = 'pitié', etc.

Before unstressed [e] and [ɛ], [t] is even less clear than before other vowels, the plosion being more copious in the former case, when the [t] sounds somewhat like [θ], cf. ['tā te tēḍa bhi'ra bōu cangḍa e] 'then thy brother is a very good man!' but ['tel de] 'give (me) oil'. In the latter case [t] is clearer.

Regarding [th] as an aspirated consonant, note the general observations made under [ph]. Before front vowels, [th] sounds somewhat like [θ], though it is not so slack before the back vowels, cf. ['thive] 'he may become', [thuren] 'to slip', [pə'thera] 'a brick-modeller', [theli] 'a money-bag', but [thaṛa] 'a police station', [thok] 'wholesale', [thuk] 'spittle'.

Before [r], [th] sounds like [tθ], the [t] being much more dental and the release fricative, whence it may be taken as a subsidiary member of the phoneme [th]. It also devocalizes the succeeding [r], cf. [methri] 'name of certain vegetable greens', [pathri] 'stone' (disease), [Athru] 'tears'.

Lahnda [d], [dh].

[d], [dh] are voiced correspondents of [t], [th]. As regards their voice and plosion the same remarks apply as in the case of [b] and [bh].

An interesting peculiarity of intervocalic [d] and [g] is that they sound like the affricate [ð] and the fricative [ɣ] respectively when a word begins with [bh], [jh] and [gh], cf. [ˈghidd(ð)i] 'taken' but [ˈpiddi] 'a Lilliputian', [ˈbhede] 'mystery' (oblique) but [ˈmeda] 'fine flour', [ˈjhagɾa] 'quarrel' but [ˈragɾa] 'friction', [ˈbhaget] 'a devotee' but [ˈɟaget] 'the world'. These may be taken as subsidiary members of the phonemes [d] and [g]. But the change does not occur with an initial [dh] or [dh] as in [ˈdhadder] 'ringworm', [ˈdhagga] 'bullock'. Unlike [th], [dh] does not become slack before the front vowels and [r], cf. [dhi] 'daughter', [ˈdhela] 'half-a-pice', [ˈdhrek] 'name of a tree'. Being a voiced plosive, it has less breath-force, and consequently it tends less to be an affricate.

Lahnda [c], [ch].

In the articulation of [c], [ch], the front of the tongue touches the teeth-ridge and the hard palate, while the tip of the tongue touches the bottom of the lower teeth, but the withdrawal of the tongue is immediate. The lips are not rounded as they are in the case of many English speakers for [tʃ].

[c], the principal member of the phoneme [c], is a plosive, not an affricate like the English [tʃ]. [c] is not followed by any appreciable plosion, e.g. [sac] 'truth', [ˈsacca] 'true', [pəˈca] 'digest', [cor] 'a thief'. In [ˈsacca], we have no plosion of [c] before [c], unlike that of [tʃ] before [tʃ] as in English [hwiʃ tʃaɪld] = 'which child'.¹ Nor is there any appreciable plosion before the front vowels, as we found in the case of [th] (see p. 74), e.g. [ˈciɾa] 'cloth', [ˈceter] 'the month of Chet', [ˈcəɾa] 'broad'.

But there is a little plosion before plosive consonants in the interior of a word, e.g. [ˈpacda] 'digesting', [vicˈkar] 'in the middle', [ˈlucpuɾa] 'rascality'. In this case, then, this [c], slightly approaching the English [tʃ], may be considered a subsidiary member of the phoneme [c].

But at the end of a word, even in connected speech, there is no plosion as usual, e.g. [ˈsac te nāi] 'it is, indeed, not true', [ˈsac ke ˈkur] 'is it true or false?', [mā ˈgac pae ˈɔden] 'I feel broken down with grief'.

[ch] has much greater plosion than the English [tʃ].

A subsidiary member of the phoneme [ch] occurs before plosives, when it sounds like the fricative [ʃ], cf. [puch(ʃ)da] 'asking', [puch(ʃ) gɪch] 'inquiry'. Even [ch] may not be called 'affricate' in the sense of a composite sound, because it does not explode before another [ch]; it becomes [c], cf. [puch(c) chor] 'just inquire' but [puch] 'inquire', [macchi] 'a fish'.

¹ Daniel Jones: *Outline of English Phonetics*, 1st Edition, p. 39.

but [mach] 'a large fish', [gucchi] 'mushroom' but [gochi] 'secret trade', though the last two words have no grammatical connection.

Lahnda [ɟ], [ɟh].

[ɟ] and [ɟh] are the voiced correspondents of [c] and [ch].

[ɟ] is a plosive, not an affricate like English [dʒ]. It does not explode before another [ɟ], as in ['bhaɟ ɟa] 'run away'. There is a slight explosion, however, before the front vowels, cf. ['raɟa] 'king' but ['raɟe] 'kings', ['saɟi] 'minstrels', ['je devi di] 'hail to the goddess'. There is a distinct explosion before [d] where it sounds like [z], cf. [bhaɟ(z)da] 'running', [vaɟ(z)da] 'ringing', where the sound may be considered as a member of the phoneme [ɟ].

Like other plosives, [ɟ] is devocalized before plosives, cf. [bhe'ɟa] 'let us run away' but ['bhaɟ pare] 'take your heels' (contemptuous), [ɟa] 'today' but [ɟa θāḍḍ e] 'it is cold today'.

[ɟh] has much greater explosion than the English [dʒ], e.g. [ɟhar] 'reproach', [bu'ɟharət] 'riddle'.

Like other voiced aspirated consonants, it loses the aspiration at the end of a word, cf. [māɟhā] 'she-buffaloes' but [māɟ] 'a she-buffalo', [bu'ɟha] 'efface' but [būɟ] 'be effaced'. It similarly follows other rules regarding such consonants discussed above (cf. pp. 73, 74).

Lahnda [t], [th].

[t] and [th] have been often described as 'retroflex consonants', being those in which the tip of the tongue is curled back somewhere against the hard palate. But the fact has not yet been taken into account that the articulation of these consonants varies in different positions in connected speech, which may be described as follows:—

(1) In the present writer's pronunciation, whenever [t] is before a pause, just the edge of the tip is curled back against a point a little higher than the beginning of the slope of the hard palate, as in [saṭ] 'throw', [piṭ] 'beat the breasts', [ni'khuṭ] 'to be finished'.

(2) When [t] occurs before velars and palato-alveolars, and when it is doubled, the whole of the tip and perhaps a part of the blade as well is curled back against a point much further back, e.g. [paṭka] 'a turban', [maṭka] 'a jar', [haṭɟa] 'step aside', [khaṭṭa] 'sour', [paṭṭi] 'a writing-board'.

(3) When [t] occurs before labials and dentals, the tongue touches an area from the teeth-ridge to the beginning of the hard palate. Thus [t] before [p] in ['haṭ pare] 'get away!' is very nearly an alveolar, the curling being at the minimum. Similarly [t] before [d] as in ['haṭda] 'getting aside' belongs

to the teeth-ridge area, but as the curling is even then maintained, it is a retroflex consonant.

[tʰ] maintains its occlusion in all positions, but the plosion of air is stronger before front vowels, which are sometimes partly devoiced, cf. [tʰik] 'correct', [mitʰi] 'sweet', [tʰekɑ] 'a contract' but [tʰok] 'hit hard', [tʰar] 'coldness'.

For other rules regarding [tʰ], cf. the above remarks on the aspirated consonants.

Lahnda [d], [dh].

[d] and [dh] are the voiced correspondents of [t] and [tʰ].

As in the case of other voiced plosives, [d] tends to be devoiced before a breathed plosive, cf. [ʼvɑḍḍɑ] 'elder' but [ʼvɑḍkɑ] 'an elderly man', [vɑḍ] 'cut' but [ʼvɑḍ te sei] 'just cut'.

When [d] occurs before [d], the glide from [ḍ] to [d] is the nature of a flap and suggests [r], cf. [ʼvɑḍ(r)da] 'cut' but [vɑḍ] 'cut'.

Lahnda [dh].

As in the case of all *voiced* aspirated consonants, there does not occur any appreciable explosion of air after [dh] before front vowels, cf. [dhim] 'a clod' but [tʰik] 'correct', [dher] 'a heap' but [tʰekɑ] 'a contract'. It should be noted that the aspiration in [dh] is a voiced one, and so tends to be considerably reduced.

Lahnda [k], [kh].

[k] and [kh] are velar consonants, and their tongue-position is about the same as that of the English velars. As regards the comparative aspiration after [k] and [kh], cf. p. 73 above.

There is some tendency in *Lahnda* to substitute [kh] for [k] of Persian and Arabic loan words, cf. [ʼkhursi] for [kursi] 'chair', [ʼmulakh] for [mulk] 'country'.

As pointed out above, [kh] before plosives tends to be pronounced somewhat like [x], cf. [ʼakh(x)da] 'saying', [ʼlikh(x)ca] 'just write', [kh] before [kh] becomes [x], cf. [ʼlikh(x)-khā] 'just write', though other aspirated consonants lose the aspiration before a similar aspirated consonant, cf. [ʼpuch(c) chor] 'just ask', [ʼsath(t) theke] 'sixty contracts'.

Before front vowels the aspiration of [kh] is stronger before front than before back vowels, cf. [khê khɑ] 'eat ashes' (a term of abuse), [ʼkhirɑ] 'cucumber', [kher] 'welfare' but [ʼkhali] 'empty', [ʼkhola] 'a building in ruins'.

Lahnda [g], [gh].

[g] and [gh] are the voiced correspondents of [k] and [kh].

As mentioned above, intervocalic [g] becomes [ǧ] when a word begins with certain aspirated consonants, e.g. [ʃhaǧra] 'a quarrel', [b̌haǧet] 'a devotee'.

Like other voiced plosives, [g] is devoiced before the breathed plosives, cf. [laǧke] 'having been attached', [laǧ te sei] 'just attach yourself', [lagši] 'it will be attached' but [laǧda] 'being attached', [ʋaǧda] 'flowing', [paǧ ďȟe pai] 'the timber is fallen'.

Initial [gh] can precede a high-falling tone, cf. [gȟâ] 'grass' but Panjabi [k'ɑ]. [gh] cannot end a word (cf. pp. 73, 74), cf. [lə'gȟɑ] 'penetrate' but [ľaǧ] 'enter'. There is no difference as to its aspiration before front or back vowels, cf. [gȟin] 'take', [gȟer] 'sinking sensation', [gȟorɑ] 'horse', [gȟar] 'home', but [kȟiť] 'heel', [ǩheri] 'a kind of shoe', [kȟâ] 'eat'.

THE LAHNDĀ NASAL CONSONANTS.

[m].

The Lahnda [m] is a bilabial nasal consonant like English [m]. In the articulation of the principal member of the phoneme [m], the lips are slack, but a subsidiary member occurs before the high-falling tone, cf. [m̌] 'rain' but [mil] 'a mile'. Here the lips are tense and [m] is more perceptible.

[n].

The Lahnda [n] is alveolar, the tip of the tongue touching the teeth-ridge.

The principal member of the phoneme [n] occurs in the beginning or at the end of words, as in [nak] 'nose', [kan] 'ear', [b̌ân] 'a pond'. It is then alveolar and short. The tip of the tongue touches the middle of the teeth-ridge. Three secondary members of this phoneme occur:—

(1) Post-alveolar [ň] occurs before velars and palato-alveolars, and before another [n], cf. [kan] 'ear' but [kaň 'kappa] 'one whose ear has been cut off', [čaň 'čɑ̌řɑ] 'the moon is up', [čanno] 'name of a woman'.

(2) Retroflex [ň] occurs before retroflex consonants, and is short, e.g. [p̌ňď] 'village', [ǩǎňďɑ] 'thorn', [m̌ǔňďɑ] 'cripple'.

(3) Dental [ň] occurs before dental plosives, and is long, cf. [naľ] 'with' but [ďanď] 'teeth', [šante] 'a pious man' (oblique), [šantha] 'lesson'. As regards the comparative length of [ň] in (2) and (3) cf. [ďanď] 'punishment' but [ďanď] 'teeth', the former is short, the latter long.

[ɲ]

The Lahnda [ɲ] is a palato-alveolar dental. It differs from the French [ɲ] as in [sipe]='signer', because the latter is simply a palatal, being the nasal correspondent of the Slavonic [c], while in the case of the Lahnda [ɲ] a part of the tongue touches the teeth-ridge as well, and there is no [j]-like resonance after it as it is in the French [ɲ], cf. [pə'neḅā] 'anklets' with French [sipe]='signer'.

[ɲ] cannot stand in the beginning of a word.

A subordinate member of the phoneme [ɲ] occurs when it is doubled, cf. [ʋaɲɲā] 'I may go' but [ʋaɲ] 'go', [ʋɲɲə] 'in this way' but [pə'neḅā] 'anklets'. In the articulation of this member there is a stronger muscular tension of the tongue, and there seems to be a slight post-resonance, but still not so prominent as in the French [ɲ].

[ɸ]

The Lahnda [ɸ] is a flapped retroflex consonant, in which the tip of the tongue is curled back and after touching the hard palate immediately comes down with a flap against the back gums of the lower teeth.

It is different from Eastern Panjabi retroflex [ɲ], which is not a flapped consonant (as may be indicated by Kymograph tracings), e.g. [ʋkaɸa] 'one-eyed', [ʋraɸi] 'queen'.

[ɸ] before [l] and [n] becomes [ɲ], cf. [calləɸ] 'to go' but [ʋcallən] 'lagga' 'began to go', [ʋcalləɸ] 'ditta' 'he let it go', but [ʋcallən nāi hōḍa] 'I cannot walk'.

[ŋ]

The Lahnda [ŋ] is a velar nasal consonant, but its articulation is a little further back than the other velar plosives, and even when it is followed by another velar plosive, the present writer feels a forward movement of the tongue when it passes from [ŋ] to the plosive, as in [ʋḍaŋgər] 'an ox', [ʋlaŋka] 'Ceylon', [ʋbaŋka] 'a dandy', [ʋsaŋkh] 'a conch'.

It often corresponds to [ŋg] or [ŋgh] of 'tatsama' Hindi words, cf. [ʋsaŋ kar ke] 'having associated with', Hindi [saŋg kar ke]. It is often doubled without any trace of [g], e.g. [ʋjāŋŋā] 'legs', Hindi [jaŋgh], Skr. [jaŋgha- (=jaŋghā-)], [ʋaŋŋā] 'bracelets'.

THE LAHNDĀ NASAL CONSONANTS.

We see, then, that Lahnda has as many as 7 nasal consonants, if the subordinate members of the phonemes be included. Of these, only [m] and [n] can stand in the beginning of a word; [ɲ], [ɸ] and [ŋ] can be only medial or final (historically, they are 'dependent sounds', being the products of assimilation of an

original [n] or [m] with a succeeding plosive), while [ŋ] and dental [n] can stand only before certain consonants.

Both [ɲ] and [ŋ] can be doubled, and their contact and release stages in that case occur at slightly different points of the tongue.

[l]

In the articulation of [l] the blade of the tongue touches the teeth-ridge, and, in the present writer's pronunciation, air passes from both the sides of the tongue. In the articulation of final [l] the back of the tongue is slightly raised, but not so much as in the English dark [l], so that acoustically it is still a 'clear' [l], cf. [gʌl] 'talk', but [lʌg] 'be attached', [lɛlə] 'a lamb'.

[l] is devocalized after [tʰ], cf. [cu'pɪtʰlɔ] 'a kind of pearl' but [pʌtɪlɔ] 'thin', [rʌkʰ lɛ] 'keep it'.

[r]

[r] is a rolled consonant, generally accompanied by two rapid taps of the tongue against the teeth-ridge, cf. [marɪlɔ] 'name of a measure', [marne] 'dying' (oblique). In the initial position, as in [ris (əris)] 'envy', it often tends to begin with a vocalic on-glide and sounds somewhat like [ər] (as kymographic tracings indicate).

Unlike certain dialects of Panjabi, [r] maintains the rolled resonance even before plosives, cf. [kardɔ] 'doing', [karke] 'having done', which in this position tends to sound like the fricative [r] in certain areas of the Punjab, as in Lahore. The number of taps and the rolled resonance increase after the high-falling tone, cf. [vʌriɔ] 'O year!' but [vʌriā] 'ornaments and costumes offered to a bride', [bʌr] 'outside' but [bɛr] 'a barren land'. This rolled resonance also varies with stress, cf. [rɔje rōdiā rōdiā akʰiɔ], 'the king said weeping'. Here the three [r]'s are pronounced with a successively decreasing rolled resonance varying with the prominence. Pretonic [r] loses considerably in resonance, and sounds like a fricative, cf. [sɪr] 'head', but [sɪr'pɪr] 'headache'. It also loses its resonance before the voiceless fricatives [s] and [ʃ], cf. [karsɪ] 'he will do', [kʰer sɔlɔ], 'all right', [kʰar ʃʌrʌm] 'have some shame'.

It is devocalized after [tʰ] (cf. above, under [l]) as in [methɪrɪ] 'a kind of vegetable green'.

[ɾ]

[ɾ] is the non-nasal correspondent of [r] described above. It cannot stand in the beginning of a word, e.g. [kʰɾɔ] 'a bracelet', [pʌɾ] 'read', [pɛɾɔ] 'a kind of sweet-meat'.

[r] occurs in consonant-groups the first member of which may be a plosive, cf. [kṛâ] 'a kind of pudding', [prã] 'a stage on a journey', [dṛunne] 'sour pomegranates', [bhṛi] 'name of a village', [tṛagi] 'a waist-band', [srâd] 'stink', [ṛau] 'a kind of pearl'.

It may again be pointed out that [r], like [ʀ], is not a mere retroflex consonant, it is a retroflex *flapped* consonant. It is the rapidly moving flap which gives the sound its characteristic resonance.

THE LAHNDA FRICATIVE CONSONANTS.

[f]

[f] is a labio-dental fricative occurring in a few Persian or Arabic loan-words, as in ['khafki] 'anxiety', [lef] 'a blanket', ['dafa ho] 'get away', but it is not a regular sound in Lahnda. As regards the change of [ph] into [f] as in [liph(f)te nãi] 'you have no spleen?', see p. 73.

[s], [z]

In the articulation of the Lahnda [s] the tip of the tongue touches the middle of the lower teeth and the lips are generally slack, as in [sak] 'relation', [sir] 'head'. But when [s] is doubled, the lips are tenser and the sound more perceptible, as in ['missa] 'a lentil-cake', ['dhussa] 'a blanket', ['khassi] 'castrated', ['lassi] 'whey', ['phissi] 'a serpent'.

Before [d], s is vocalized, e.g. [us(z)da jakət] 'his child', [us(z)dittə] 'he gave', but cf. [us gā ā maria] 'he struck the cow', [us dānger āda] 'he brought the bullock', where the vocalization does not occur.

[z] is the voiced correspondent of [s], but it rarely occurs in Lahnda, except in a few loan-words from Persian and Arabic, as in ['maza] 'enjoyment', ['hezə] 'cholera', and even in such words it is more often pronounced as [ʃ] among the Hindus, though Muslims, even the illiterate, use [z].

[ʃ]

In the articulation of [ʃ] the tip of the tongue touches the lower teeth; there is no lip-rounding, as it is often in English, the stream of breath is also less copious than with the English variety, cf. [ʃer] 'a lion', [ʃi'kar] 'hunting' but under stress or tone the breath-stream becomes quite copious, cf. [pət'ʃā] 'a king', [ʃaster] 'a Shāstra—Hindu code of laws', [pər'ʃad] 'gift'. But [ʃ] is of rare occurrence in Lahnda, being restricted to Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit loan-words.

[x] and [g]

The fricative [x] is a velar consonant, but it is a little more front than the velar plosives, cf. ['xɒlɒ] 'aunt' but ['kɒlɒ] 'black', [bu'xɑr] 'fever' but [pu'kɑr] 'a call'. Similarly ['likh(x)ke] 'having written'.

[x], like [f], is found only in a few Persian and Arabic loan-words, and is not a regular sound in Lahnda, except when [kh] becomes [x] before a plosive (cf. p. 77).

In the present writer's pronunciation, [x] is a weak fricative, the stream of breath being almost inaudible before a plosive, e.g. ['puxɒ] 'firm', ['tɒxte] 'boards', ['likh(x)ke] 'having written'.

[g] is the voiced correspondent of [x], and like it rarely occurs in Lahnda, e.g. ['dɒgɒ] 'deceit', [bɒg] 'a garden', [dɒg] 'a spot', though the Hindus more often pronounce ['dɒgɒ], [bɒg], [ďɒg]. Like [x], [g] is only a weak fricative, especially before plosives, e.g. [bɒg 'bɑn] 'a gardener', ['ďɒg de gɪɐ] 'he has given a blow (of grief)'.

Though [g] in all positions is a rare sound in Lahnda, mention has already been made of the regular sound [g] appearing as a subsidiary member of the phoneme [g] in words like ['bhagət], ['jhaɡrɒ], etc. (see p. 78).

[h]

The Lahnda [h] is a voiced glottal fricative both initially and medially, cf. ['hosi] 'it will be', ['hārdɒl] 'turmeric', [pə'hɑr] 'a mountain', [lə'hɒɒr] 'Lahore'.

The present writer feels a considerable rise of the larynx when [h] occurs in a stressed or toned syllable, cf. ['ȟɒjɒ] 'alas!' (in lamentations only) but [hɒɐ] 'alas!', [ȟɑr] 'the month of Hār' but [hɑrɪ 'mɒl] 'name of a man born in the month of Hār', [ȟɛ] 'this' but [herni] 'a kind of play among boys', [sə'hɛrɐn] 'to court evil'.

When [h] is initial, the second syllable, if stressed, tends to get the 'lower rising-falling' tone, cf. [hə'nerɒ] 'darkness', [hu'nɒlɒ] 'summer', [hə'kimā] 'doctors' (oblique) but cf. [sara gɪ'rā həkimā dɒ] 'a whole village of doctors', where [ki] has no stress.

[ʔ]

Besides the above fricatives, the voiced glottal fricative (described on p. 72) often occurs as a result of the juxtaposition of several vowels peculiar to Lahnda.

Besides the above, the voiceless glottal stop sometimes occurs between a toned and a toneless vowel, e.g.

[ɡɒl te 'ê'e] 'the fact is this'.

[us dɒ 'v̌ǰɒ'ɒ] 'it was the occasion of his marriage'.

[o mɒ'ľɒ'ɒ] 'he had been a sailor'.

[o te m̌ɛde ʔog 'pȟi'ei] 'that was gallows for me'.

THE LAHNDIA SEMI-VOWELS.

The Lahndia [v] is a semi-vowel in the sense that it is a glide to another vowel, being never followed by another consonant and having very little occlusion or contact. In the articulation of [v] just the edge of the upper teeth very gently touches the inner side of the lower lip at a point nearly opposite to the gums of the lower teeth. There is absolutely no explosion of breath as with the English [v].

Occlusion becomes a little appreciable when [v] is followed by the high-falling tone, cf. [vāda] 'an increase' but [və'dh~a] 'to increase' (transitive). [v] before this tone may be taken as a subsidiary member of the phoneme [v]; the point of the lower lip, which the upper teeth touch in the articulation of this subsidiary member, is somewhat higher.

When [v] is intervocalic and occurs in an unstressed syllable, the lower lip rises and touches the upper teeth, which are then comparatively passive, while the acoustic effect is also different from that of the normal initial [v]. The [v] in this case sounds least consonant-like, so that it may be considered as a second subsidiary member of the phoneme [v], e.g. [ˈsəvə cəɾ] 'four and a quarter', [ˈrəvə] 'a scarf'. This 'reduction' of [v] becomes all the more striking when it is preceded by [u], e.g. [suvəri] 'a vehicle', [kuvəri] 'a virgin'. And yet the sound here is not a mere intervocalic glide, because the lower lip is fairly active against the upper teeth.

[j]

[j] as a semi-vowel is not a frequent sound in Lahndia. There are very few, if any, genuine Lahndia words with an initial [j]. The present writer knows only a few, viz. [ˈjakkəɾ] 'camouflage', [ˈjakkə] 'a kind of carriage' (Hindi [ekka]), [ˈjārā] 'eleven'. Perhaps even these are loan-words. A few Arabic and Persian loan-words also occur as [ˈjər] 'friend', [ˈjəd] 'memory'.

When it is intervocalic it is difficult to determine whether it should be placed in the list of consonants or vowels, because very little occlusion then occurs. Thus the [j] in [ˈhojə] 'became', [ˈmojə] 'dead', [ˈrojə] 'wept', [ˈcəjə] 'came' (commonly written with j) should be rather transcribed as [i].

EXPLOSION.

The Lahndia consonants behave in two different ways:—

(1) At the end of a word, before a pause, they do not explode, cf. [səp] 'a serpent', [sət] 'seven', [səc] 'truth', [sət] 'throw', [sək] 'a chip of wood'.

The only exception is breathed aspirated consonants (cf. p. 73) as [lɪph] 'the spleen', [hath] 'hand', [mach] 'a large

fish', [sāth] 'sixty', [lɪkh] 'write'. Here explosion does take place (as kymograph tracings have also shown).

(2) Before another consonant, they explode, whether they are in the interior or at the end of a word, cf. [chapda] 'hiding', but [chap] 'hide thyself', [cup kar] 'be quiet' (authoritative) but [cup] 'hush!'. Similarly explosion occurs in [ʃatka] 'O boy!', [matka] 'a jar', [satke] 'having thrown', [bakda] 'talking nonsense', [apfi] 'one's own', [admi] 'a man', [sāmfe] 'in front of'. In this respect Lahnda differs from Hindi, in which there is no such explosion.

It may be noted in this connection that Lahnda has no consonant-groups at the end of words, cf. [vakət] 'time', literary Hindustani [vaqt], [garəm] 'hot', literary Hindustani [garm]. This absence of final consonant-groups seems to be partly due to the above-mentioned tendency.

But plosion is not so appreciable when the final consonant of a word is preceded or followed by stress, cf. [pare haʔ ke rəo] 'keep aside at a distance' but [haʔ pare] 'get aside'. In the former case there is no (or very slight) explosion of [t] before [k], in the latter the [t] does explode. In [phitkar] 'a curse' the [t] does not explode, as it is in the interior of the word, and is pretonic. Again cf. [vat kita] '(he) did it again' but [vat kikeʔ hoi] 'then how did it occur?', [t] before [k] in the former sentence explodes, in the latter it does not.

In this connection the following sentences may be of interest:—

(a) [paʔke 'saʔ ditte] '(they) threw down their turbans'. Both [t]'s explode; the former is in the interior of a word, the latter at the end.

(b) [paʔ ke saʔ ditte] '(they) dug it out and threw it'. The first [t] explodes (though not so much as in the [t] of [paʔke] 'turban'), while the second [t] does not.

[paʔ ke 'saʔ ditte] 'they dug it out and threw it'. The second [t] explodes, the first does not.

Plosion also does not occur in the following cases:—

(1) [b] before [m], cf. [dub mar] 'be drowned' (a curse) but [katnē] 'do you spin?', [vat nāi ʌoʔa] 'you have not to come again', [vatʔa] 'a kind of cosmetics'.

(2) A dental before alveolo-palatal, e.g. in [sat 'car jārā] 'seven and four make eleven', [vat ca ghin] 'take it again', [lad ja] 'come and load'. But cf. [lakk giʔ] '(the dog) has licked' where [k] slightly explodes before [g].

ASSIMILATION.

Assimilation has been copiously dealt with under the various consonant-phonemes. Here its general features may be outlined:—

Assimilation is generally regressive. A voiced consonant followed by a breathed one is devocalized, though not vice versa, cf. ['dʌʔsi] 'he will bury', ['sʌʔsi] 'he will call', ['lʌg ke] 'being attached' but ['kʌp ɡɪd] 'he has cut it', [sʌt ɡʰore] 'seven horses'.

The devocalization is a little greater when the voiced consonant is in the interior of a word than when it is final, cf. [kʌɡtʌ] 'papers' (oblique of ['kʌɡet] 'paper') but ['lʌg te sei] 'just attach yourself', ['dʌʔsɪ] 'I shall bury' but ['dʌʔ sɪjɪ] 'bury it, O Lord!'

Assimilation is progressive in the following :—

(1) A preceding [tʰ] devocalizes [r] or [l], e.g. in [cupɪtʰlɔ] 'name of a pearl', [methɪrɪ] 'name of certain vegetable greens'.

(2) An original [ŋɡ] or [ŋgh] becomes [ŋ] at the end of a word, cf. [sʌŋ] 'association' but ['sʌŋɡɪ] 'a companion', ['ʃʌŋ] 'leg', Skr. [ʃaŋgha-].

DISSIMILATION.

Dissimilation occurs in the following cases :—

(1) [ɾ] before [l] or [n] becomes [n], cf. [callɛɾ] 'to walk' but ['callɛn 'lʌɡɡʌ] 'he began to walk' (cf. p. 79), [callɛn nɛi hōdɔ] '(I) cannot walk'.

(2) [r] after the [r] of another syllable becomes [ɾ] in the Arabic (or Persian?) loan-word: [mɛɡ'rurɪ] 'pride', otherwise cf. [sarɪr] 'body'.

(3) [ɾ] after [r] or [ɾ] (of the preceding syllable) becomes [n] cf. ['chappɛɾ] 'to hide' but ['pʌrɛn] 'to read', ['karɛn] 'to do'.

(4) [n] becomes [l] before [l] of another syllable in a Hindustani loan-word ultimately from the Portuguese [leilaõ]: [lɪ'lam] 'auction', from Hindustani [nilam]; otherwise cf. [nilɔ] 'blue'.

DOUBLE CONSONANTS.

From the organic, as opposed to acoustic, point of view, a double consonant is a long consonant, in the articulation of which the interval of silence between the stop-stage and the off-glide stage of a consonant takes considerably more than usual time. But as the acoustic effect among many hearers (including the present writer) is of two consonants, we may call the consonant a double consonant. Moreover, such double consonants are often significant in Lahnda, cf.

['sater] 'a line' but ['satter] 'seventy'.

['patɔ] 'information' but ['pattɔ] 'a playing card'.

['rate] 'a little' but ['ratte] 'blood' (oblique).

['sati] 'a devoted wife' but ['satti] 'the seventh' (in playing cards).

['muni] 'a sage' but ['munni] 'a little girl'.

Double consonants in Lahnda occur under the following conditions :—

(1) Double consonants inherited from Prakrit, cf. ['sacca] 'true', ['vaccha] 'a calf', ['sukka] 'dry', ['habba] 'all'.

(2) A final consonant at the end of a monosyllabic word is always doubled when the initial vowel of another word follows: cf. [hik] 'one' but ['hikk a] 'there had been one', ['jat] 'a peasant' but ['jatt a] 'there was a peasant'. When, however, the word is *polysyllabic*, the final consonant is not doubled, though it goes with the succeeding syllable, cf. ['vakət ɪa] 'there was time', ['garəm alu] 'hot potatoes'. Even in this case, however, the consonant becomes longer.

(3) Monosyllabic words also double their final consonant if they are enlarged by a suffixal vowel, cf. [jat] 'a peasant' but ['jatte] 'to a peasant', [lat] 'leg' but ['latte] 'to the leg', [phu] 'a breach' but ['phuṭṭi] 'broken or divided' (feminine), [cup] 'quiet' but ['cuppū] 'reserved' (contemptuous), [rab] 'God' but ['rabba] 'O God!', [sath] 'sixty' but ['satthe] 'sixty only', [hik] 'one' but ['hikka] 'only one', [vaɽ] 'go' but ['vaɽpe] 'let him go'.

But if the word is polysyllabic, the doubling does not occur before the suffixal vowel, cf. ['vakət] 'time', [vakte] 'to the time'; ['karəd] 'knife', [kər'de] 'to the knife', ['garəm] 'hot' but [germi] 'heat', [lə'haor] 'Lahore', [lə'haore] 'to Lahore'.

(4) A final consonant is pronounced long when the word is stressed, though acoustically it does not give the impression of two consonants to the present writer, cf. ['hatt̪ pəre] 'get away', ['dass khā] 'pray tell me', [dalic luɽ 'ghatt̪] 'put some salt in the lentils'. On the other hand, consonants pronounced double when the word is isolated, may become single if the word is unstressed and preceded or followed by stress (cf. p. 95) as in [utte] 'upstairs', [ute cə'bare te a ja] 'come upstairs on the garret'.

(5) As regards consonant-groups, there is no doubling of a plosive before another plosive, e.g. ['vakte] 'to the time', ['sakda] 'he can', ['jatka] 'O boy!', ['mangda] 'asking', ['chāpka] '(hanging) nails', but a plosive before [r] and [j] is doubled, provided that the word is stressed, e.g. ['khattri] 'a Khatri', [puttre] 'to the son', ['likkhja] 'written', ['chakkja] 'swallowed', ['chappja] 'hidden', ['sattja] 'annoyed'.

The general characteristic features of the Lahnda consonant-system may now be described :—

- (1) Lahnda consonants become often considerably perceptible before or after the high-falling tone (see p. 73).
- (2) There are two series of significant aspirated consonants (see p. 73).

- (3) No consonant-group exists at the end of words (see p. 84).
- (4) The 'retroflexion' of the retroflex consonants varies, under different conditions, from nearly dental to purely retroflex position (see pp. 76, 77).
- (5) The [c] and [ɟ] (with their aspirates) of Lahndia are *plosives*, not affricates (see pp. 75, 76).
- (6) Lahndia has as many as 7 nasal consonants (see p. 79).
- (7) Lahndia has no voiced aspirated consonants at the end of words (see p. 73).
- (8) Some of the aspirated consonants when initial tend to impart a rising tone to a succeeding stressed syllable and to make the intervocalic [d] and [g] sound like [ḍ] and [ḡ] (see p. 75).
- (9) [ʃ] and initial [j] are rare in Lahndia (pp. 81, 83).
- (10) Lahndia has two flapped consonants [ɾ] and [ɽ] (pp. 79, 80).
- (11) Aspirated plosives tend to become fricatives before plosives (pp. 73, 75).
- (12) Plosion of a consonant before another occurs medially, but not finally.
- (13) The final consonant of a monosyllabic word is doubled when a vowel follows.

NASALIZATION.

Nasalization may be considered under three heads :—

1. Dependent nasalization.
2. Independent nasalization.
3. Syntactical nasalization.

1. Dependent nasalization means the nasalization of a vowel due to a preceding or succeeding nasal consonant either actually present *in the same word* or dropped owing to historical reasons.

2. Independent nasalization means the nasalization of a vowel without the contiguity of any nasal consonant in the same or a neighbouring word.

3. Syntactical nasalization is the effect of a nasal sound, whether a vowel or a consonant, present in *another* neighbouring word in the same sentence.

- (1) Dependent nasalization in Lahndia occurs either

- (a) medially, or
- (b) finally.

(a) Medial dependent nasalization occurs in the *interior* of a word, when a vowel is *followed*, but not if only preceded, by a nasal consonant in the same syllable; in other words, medial dependent nasalization is always regressive. Thus we have—

[rām] 'name of a man', but [mar] 'kill'.

[ʃǎmǎ] 'a gown', but [ʼmaqǔ] 'name of a fruit'.

[kǎn] 'ear', but [nak] 'nose'.

[rǎn] 'woman', but [nar] 'male'.

[nǎǎfǐ] 'a barber's wife', but [nǎiǎ] 'O barber!'

This regressive nasalization is so important a condition that when the following nasal consonant belongs to another stressed syllable, the nasalization does not occur—cf. [ʃǎǎǎ] 'man', but [ʃǎ'nǎni] 'woman'. Here [ǎ] is not nasalized, as the succeeding [n] belongs to another stressed syllable.

[ʃǎǎ di] 'of a man', but [ʃǎ'ǎdi] 'giving birth to'.

Here [ǎ] is not nasalized owing to the same reason.

(b) At the end of a word, however, a vowel when preceded immediately by a nasal consonant is nearly always nasalized, so that final dependent nasalization is progressive, cf.—

[rǎmǎ] 'name of a man', but [mar] 'kill'.

[ʃǎmǎ] 'a gown', but [ʼmaqǔ] 'name of a fruit'.

[sǎnǎ] 'gold', but [nas] 'nostril'.

[cǎnǎ] 'a Chinese', but [nic] 'degraded'.

[pǎǎfǐ] 'name of a pudding', but [nǎpǎ] 'hem of a garment'.

Hence a nasal consonant in the beginning of a polysyllabic word does not nasalize the succeeding vowel.

The following, then, are typical examples of both medial and final nasalization in Lahnda :—

[pǎǎfǐ] 'water', [kǎǎfǐ] 'one-eyed'.

[dǎǎfǎ] 'seed', [cǎǎfǎ] 'a kind of grain'.

In his transcriptions of Lahnda words, however, the present writer has not transcribed medial and final *dependent* nasalization (except to avoid grammatical ambiguity), with the understanding that both these types of nasalization always occur under the above-mentioned conditions.

In connection with medial dependent nasalization a peculiarity of Lahnda may be noticed. After a high-falling tone accompanying a close vowel, an original medial nasal is entirely driven out, thus Lahnda, like Panjabi, has [khǎǎ] 'sugar', [pǎǎ] 'village', [dǎǎ] 'tooth', [bǎǎ] 'a low stool', but unlike Panjabi, Lahnda has [gǎǎ] 'bundle', Panjabi [gǎǎ], [sǎǎ] 'ginger', Panjabi [sǎǎ]. But after an open vowel this loss does not occur, cf. [mǎǎ] 'my', [tǎǎ] 'thy', [pǎǎ] 'a priest'. The reason of this difference is obscure; but this indicates that it is the consonantal element which the high-falling tone has driven out; for the consonantal element does not occur after open vowels.

Lahnda medial nasalization of a close or half-close vowel is always followed by a (nasal) consonantal element, which can

often be historically traced to an ancient or middle Indian [n] or [m], cf. [dānd] 'tooth', Hindi [dāt]; [bhāṅg] 'hemp', Hindi [bhāṅg]; [rāṇḍi] 'a widow', Hindi [rāṇ]. Similarly in the case of the present participles like ['hōnda] 'being', ['rōnda] 'weeping', [mōrēnda] 'beating', ['dēnda] 'giving'. But the consonantal element does not occur after the open vowels [ɛ] and [a], cf. ['cēda] 'raising', ['khēda] 'eating', ['dād] 'a bullock', ['kāṅ] 'a flood', ['rāṅla] 'coloured', ['bāka] 'a dandy', ['prādi] 'women's hair-ribbon'.

(c) It has been pointed out above that a final vowel preceded by a nasal consonant is nearly always nasalized. But there are a few words which present some difficulty. Thus for 'mother' Kehūfi has [mā] but not [mā̃], which Panjabi and some Lahnda dialects have. Again, we have [nai] 'a barber' but [nāi] 'not, no'. [nai] historically goes back to Sanskrit [nāpita-], and the [a] accordingly may not have been felt as a final. [nāi] seems to be either a contraction of [nā hi], where the final [o] of [nə] 'no, not' seems to have preserved its nasality, or may be traced back to Skr. [nāsti].

There are several final nasal vowels, the nasal element of which historically or analogically goes back to terminational [m] or [n], cf. ['hatthi] 'by the hand of', ['kadī] 'ever', ['kaū] 'kutti' 'to crows and dogs', ['viccō] 'from the interior', ['uttō] 'from above', [Asi] 'we', ['tusi] 'you', though as regards the last two words the nasal element does not generally occur in the present writer's pronunciation. Thus we say [Asi] 'vesā' 'we shall go' but [Asi vi] 'we also', when [vi] 'also' is not followed by any other word.

But while the final nasal of *polysyllabic* words of this class is often dropped, dependent final nasalization is not omitted when the word is a monosyllable, thus the present writer always says [tū] 'thou', Hindi [tu], Skr. [tvam]; [ṣī] 'lion', Skr. [siṃha-]; [dhū] 'smoke', Hindi [dhū], Skr. [dhūma-]; [lū] 'hair on the body', Skr. [loma-].

(2) Independent nasalization generally occurs only in the final position under the following conditions:—

(a) At the end of certain monosyllabic particles as [yā] 'or', Hindustani [ya]; [tā] 'then', Hindustani [tab], Panjabi [tadō]; [ā] 'to'. There is a tendency among Lahnda speakers to nasalize Hindi monosyllabic finals in the course of reading, thus [se] 'with or from' is often pronounced [sē], [te] 'on or from' as [tē], and this tendency is predominant among Sādhū preachers who in their formal discourses or readings nasalize monosyllabic finals, and their general style of discourse somewhat resembles the Welsh *hwyl*.

(b) Many monosyllabic finals are nasalized, the nasalization in several cases being either, in some cases analogical or in some cases compensatory, owing to the historical loss of certain

sounds or elements of sounds, cf. [gũ] 'fœcus', Skr. [gũtha-], Marathi [gu]; [bhũ] 'straw or chaff', Hindi ['bhusa], Panjabi [bho]; [rũ] 'cotton', Hindi [rui]; [bi] 'seed', Hindi [bi]; [bã] 'arm', Skr. [bãhu-]; [chã] 'shade', Skr. [châyã-], Hindi ['chãõ]; [gã] 'cow', Hindi [gœ] or [gau].

(c) Among polysyllables, the usual nasalization is of the final [ɑ] of numerals and of feminine words. For numerals 11-19 Lahnda nasalizes the finals, as ['jãrã], ['bãrã], etc. while Hindi has ['gjãrã], ['bãrã], etc. Most of the other numerals, however, do not have this nasalization, cf. ['cãli] 'forty', ['Assi] 'eighty', ['nãvve] 'ninety', though nasalization occurs in the finals of words for 89, 91-99, cf. ['kanvẽ] 'ninety-one', ['banvẽ] 'ninety-two' but cf. ['nãsi] 'seventy-nine', ['un'tãli] 'thirty-nine', where the final is not nasalized. Nor is the toned [ã] nasalized, cf. ['dã] 'ten', [pəp'jã] 'fifty'.

As regards feminine words, the final [ɑ] is nasalized, but not other vowels. For instance, a man named [sitɑ 'ram] is often familiarly addressed and spoken of as ['sitɑ], but a woman [sitɑ 'devi] is addressed and spoken of as [sitã]. Similarly the male ['tarɑ], but the female ['tarã]. Other vowels, however, are not nasalized, cf. [par'batti], Skr. [pãrvatĩ], familiarly called [batti] and not [battĩ]; [dhropti] (Skr. [draupadĩ]) and not [dhroptĩ]. The nasalizations (b) and (c) do not occur in Hindi, so far as the present writer is aware.

Medial Independent Nasalization.

While Lahnda has gone much ahead of Hindi and even of Panjabi in the nasalization of finals, quite the reverse is the case with its medial vowels. It is almost absent in Lahnda. It has been already pointed out how medial nasality has been entirely driven out after the high-falling tone (except for open vowels) in Lahnda (cf. p. 88). Thus while Hindi has [ãkh] 'eye', [sãc] 'truth', [pãchi] = [pãchi] 'bird', [kãc] 'glass', Lahnda has [Akh], [sAc], [pøkheru], [kAc]. There exist only a few loan-words from Hindi or Sanskrit proper names like [kãʃi], H. [kaʃi] 'Kãshi', [bãʃi], H. [baʃi] 'name of a man' indicating such nasalization.

Vowels that may be nasalized.

Of the plain vowels, all can be nasalized under the conditions described above, as [ɑ] and [i] in ['pãfi] 'water'; [e] in [mœ'rẽdɑ] 'beating', [ɛ] in [nẽn] 'eye', [tẽ] 'by thee', [sẽ] 'sleep'; [o] in ['rõdɑ] 'weeping', [u] in [jũ] 'lice', etc.

Of the diphthongs, the following 16 can be nasalized :—

- [ẽi], as in [dẽi] 'give please'.
- [ũi], e.g. [dũi] 'please come'.
- [ãi], e.g. [lãi] 'take'.
- [õi], e.g. [dõi] 'curd', [bõi] 'sit'.

- [õi], e.g. [dhõi] 'wash'.
 [ãe], e.g. [hɛɲ nə khãe] 'do not eat in this way'.
 [iã], e.g. [diã] 'to-morrow'.
 [õa], e.g. [dõa] 'both'.
 [ũa], e.g. [dũa] 'of both'.
 [iõ], e.g. [diõ] 'day time'.
 [aõ], e.g. [paõ] 'a trick in dice'.
 [Δõ], e.g. [jΔõ] 'barley'.
 [ẽu], e.g. [nẽu] 'the nails'.
 [iẽ], e.g. [giẽ] 'have you gone?', [piẽ] 'have you fallen?', [rĩẽ] 'have you lived?'.
 [iã], e.g. ['mali^(j)ãn] 'to the gardeners', ['kaliãn] 'to the black ones' [us diã] 'his'.
 [iã], e.g. ['kapiã] 'by cutting', ['maliã 'bhiṭiã] 'by meeting and greeting'.

The last three of the above diphthongs nasalize only their second element.

(3) Syntactical nasalization occurs in connected speech, when the vowel of an unstressed word is nasalized by the proximity of another word ending in a nasal vowel, cf.

[tũ vi] 'thou also' but [õ vi] 'he also', [sara gira i] 'even the whole village' but [sara i] 'even the whole'.

The [i]'s in both these sentences have been nasalized only when preceded by the nasal in the preceding word.

Sometimes a plosive occurring in a word and followed and preceded by nasal consonants in different words sounds like a nasal consonant:—

[e kɪpɲɛ b(m)Δṛdi e] 'how is it done?' Here [b] sounds somewhat like [m].

[e kikeṛ g(ŋ)ĩṛde o] 'how do you count this?' Here [g] sounds somewhat like [ŋ].

When a nasal sound is followed by stress, it is likely to be reduced or lost, cf. [tũ vi] 'thou also' but [tu i the 'kɪõ 'bɛṭhẽ] 'why are you sitting here?' The final of [tũ] loses its nasality. ['chã 'takko] 'look at the shade!' but [chã 'ḍḍḍi ṭhḍi e] 'the shade is very cool'. The nasality of [chã] is considerably reduced in the second sentence.

INTONATION.

Before we enter into intonation proper, i.e. the sentence-intonation of Lahnda, it will be necessary to study the general features of *word-prominence* in Lahnda.

If we take some of the common literary Hindustani monosyllabic words ending in consonant-groups, such as ['vaqt] 'time', ['saxt] 'severe', ['garm] 'hot', ['sard] 'cold', etc., we find the tune of these words as ——. In Lahnda the same

words are pronounced with two syllables each with a low prominence, as [vakət], [sakhət], [gərəm], [sarəd], etc., the scheme of intonation being —.

As regards words of three syllables, a comparison with Hindustani will again be instructive. Take the Hindustani words [sao'dəgər] 'merchant', [bə'zəri] 'belonging to the market, i.e. not home-made', [be'cəri] 'poor'. These words have a primary stress on the second syllable, and a secondary stress on the initial syllable, so that the rhythm of these words may be represented as

— — . — — . — — .
[sao 'da gər, bə 'za ri, be 'ca ra].

In Lahnda, however, the secondary stress does not appear: both the initial and the final syllables are pronounced with a weak prominence, as the reduced quality of the initial vowels indicates; while the second syllable here is the prominent syllable, being the only stressed one. Thus the above words in Lahnda are pronounced as

. — . . — . . — .
[su 'da gər, bə 'ja ri, vɪ 'ca ra].

They indicate a comparatively monotone intonation with stress on one of the syllables.

A similar scheme may be noticed in Lahnda compound words, the second or the last member of which is nearly always stressed, all the other syllables becoming monotone—a feature which distinguishes Lahnda from Panjabi (cf. pp. 52-54). Thus the rhythm of [rəda 'kɪʃən] 'name of a man', [sɪta 'ram] 'name of a man' may be represented in Lahnda as

. . — . . . —
[ra da kɪʃ ʃən] [si ta ram],

while in Panjabi the tune is

. — — . — — .
[râ ,da kɪʃən] [si 'ta ram],

where we have two prominent syllables.

In the Lahnda examples above, we find that the only prominent syllable is [kɪʃ] in the first example, and [ram] in the second. Thus the 'nucleus' may not be necessarily the middle of a sound-group. That this prominence here is not mere pitch, but is combined either with breath-force or quantity or both, is indicated by the striking reduction of the vowels in the first member of the compound; thus the vowels of [sɪta] in the second example are reduced considerably in pitch, quantity and quality. For further examples cf. pp. 52-54. Not only the perceptibility of pretonic vowels, but also of consonants, is affected, cf. [sɪr] 'head', in which [r] is clearly articulated

as it is in [ʼsɪr pɪd] ' (he) fell on (his) head ', but in the compound word [sɪr 'pɪr] ' headache ' the perceptibility of [r] is considerably lost. Similarly cf. [p] in [ʼsəp gɪd] ' the serpent is gone ' with the [p] in [səp 'kʊpɪ] ' the slough of a serpent ', the [p] in the latter example being considerably obscured.

But there are complications. There arises the question of the tones, which seems to disturb the scheme of rhythm mentioned above. A short description of these tones will therefore be necessary.

(1) The high-falling tone is a significant tone, as in Panjabi. It sounds like the tone in English ' yes ' ¹ meaning ' of course it is so ' and may be represented as ˩. There is a considerable number of Lahnda words with different meanings when toneless and when accompanied by tone as [vɑɖdi] ' large ' but [vɑɖdi] ' a bribe ', [pɑ] ' put ' but [pɑ̃] ' manure ', [dɑ] ' of ' but [dɑ̃] ' ten ', [pi] ' drink ' but [pĩ] ' grind '. But a very large majority of the ' toned ' words have no toneless correspondents, while these toned words as a general rule can be traced to an original intervocalic [h] which ' amalgamated ' with the vowel, e.g. [dɑ̃] ' ten ' goes back to * [daha-] < Skr. [daśa-].

In the articulation of this tone the present writer feels an abrupt fall of the larynx.

(2) The low-rising tone is not a significant tone in the present writer's dialect, and thus differs from a similar tone in Panjabi and Himalayan Lahnda. It seems to accompany initial voiced aspirated plosives, e.g. in [ghoɾɑ] ' horse ' the [o] seems to rise in tone and is not heard as a toneless [o] as it is in [hor] ' another ' and [goɾɑ] ' white '. But even then it does not devoice these plosives, nor does it affect the meanings of words. Moreover, the voiced aspirated consonant in my dialect may, in emphatic speech, be accompanied by the *high-falling* tone, as [bhɑ̃ɟɑ] ' O brother ! ', [bhɑ̃bi] ' O brother's wife '. In Panjabi these words are always pronounced [p'ɑɟɑ], [p'ɑbi].

In the articulation of this kind of low-rising tone which is confined to voiced aspirated consonants, and which may be called ' upper low-rising tone ', the present writer feels first a gradual fall and then rise of the larynx.

But there is another variety of low-rising tone which is significant and which may be traced to an original [h] in some cases, e.g. [rɑ] ' a royal personage ' but [r̃ɑ] ' rhythm ' (Old Hindi [raɦɑu]), [kɑfi] ' one-eyed woman ' but [k̃ɑfi] ' a mud-heap '. It also occurs as a correspondent of high-falling tone when followed by a more prominent syllable, as [ʊn] ' they ', but [uñɑ̃dɑ] ' theirs ', [pɑ̃r] ' read ' but [p̃r̃ɑi] ' teaching ', [bɑ̃n] ' bind ' but [b̃nɑ̃i] ' charges for binding ', [vɑ̃d] ' grow, prosper ' but [ṽ(ə)d̃ɑi] ' congratulations ', [sɑ̃oɾɑ] ' father-in-law ', but

¹ Daniel Jones: *An Outline of English Phonetics*, 2nd Edition, p. 137.

[sur~ej] 'a relation of father-in-law'. The quantity of the vowel with this tone is distinctly longer than in the case of the other two tones.

In the articulation of this tone, which may be called 'lower rising-falling tone', I feel a much greater fall and then rise of the larynx. It should not be confused with [h], for in the articulation of [h] I feel a little fall of the larynx, but no rise at all, while in the tone in question the fall is much greater while the rise is very considerable.

We shall now consider the complications raised by these tones in the scheme before us. It has been pointed out above that the tune of common Lahnda dissyllabic words like [kappa] 'cloth', [soṭi] 'a stick', [raja] 'a king', the rhythm is $\text{—} \cdot \cdot$. But words like [kôra] 'leper', [dôra] 'double', etc. seem to be exceptions, for their scheme is $\text{—} \cdot$. In noting these exceptions, however, two points should be borne in mind. Firstly, these toned words have a historical origin, as indicated above; once passed current in the language, they have come to stay, but they do not seriously affect the present monotone tendency on the part of Lahnda speakers, especially owing to the second reason, viz. that both these tones disappear in a sentence whenever another syllable has become the prominent syllable, e.g.

[kôre ã p̄sa dio] 'give a pice to the leper'

$\text{—} \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot$
[kôre ã p̄ sa dio],

but cf.

[koɾe ã 'do p̄se dio] 'give two pice to the leper'

$\cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \text{—} \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot$
[ko ɾe ã d̄o p̄ se dio],

where [kôre] loses the tone, when [do] 'two' becomes the nucleus. And even in the first example, [kôre], which, when pronounced isolated, has the high-falling tone, has no longer the characteristic tone, but a middle tone with only a direction towards a fall. The same may be said of the 'lower rising-falling tone', e.g.

[ɪtthe 'pr̄ai baɽi caŋgi h̄di e] 'here the teaching is very good'

$\cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot$
[ɪt the pr̄ai ba ɽi caŋgi h̄ di e],

but cf.

[prai te ɪthe k̄oɽi vi n̄i h̄di] 'the teaching here is good for nothing'

$\cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot$
[prai te ɪthe 'k̄oɽi vi n̄i h̄ di],

where [p̄rai] loses the tone.

The tones, then, do not affect the general scheme of intonation peculiar to Lahnda.

Sentence Intonation.

Scheme I.

A. Plain Statements.

The first scheme, which represents the predominant tendency in Lahnda, may be illustrated as follows:—

[mẽ ʌj 'sat vɔje ɣɬɐ ʈɐr vɛsũ] 'I will leave for home at seven o'clock to-day'.

— — — — —
[mẽ ʌj sat vɔ je ɣɬɐ ʈɐr vɛ sũ].

The same sentence in English will be thus represented:—

— — — — —
[aɪl li:v fə haʊm ət sevən ə klɒk tu deɪ]

It will be noticed that the intonation scheme in Lahnda is considerably similar to English. The prominent syllables occur only in those words which have semantic importance in the sentence, as [sat] 'seven', [ɣɬɐ] 'home', and [vɛ(sũ)] 'will go' in the above example. The prominence of the syllables is more monotone than in English, the intonation of the latter having a larger variation of stressed and unstressed syllables.

Three tones may occur in sentence-intonation, viz. the middle, the high-falling and lower rising-falling. Of these, the high-falling tone of isolated words tends to become the middle tone if it occurs in a prominent syllable of a monosyllabic word in a sentence. Otherwise, if the word occurs in pretonic or post-tonic position, the characteristic tone is entirely lost (cf. p. 94). Even syllables, which are commonly stressed when doubling occurs, and which, when isolated, would be represented as —, e.g. [gɔɖɖi] 'train', [vɔɖɖɔ] 'large' similarly lose the stress before the most prominent syllable, as the following example will show:—

[ʌj gɔɖ(ɖ)i 'cɔr vɔje ɔsi] 'the train will come at four o'clock to-day'.

— — — — —
[ʌj gɔɖi 'cɔr vɔ je ɔ si]

Note how the [ɖ] of [gɔɖɖi] becomes single before the stressed syllable ['cɔr] (cf. p. 86).

We shall now show that this scheme is predominant in Lahnda, beginning with the shortest sentences:—

(1) Plain statements.

[ʌj ʈɬɔɖɖe] 'it is cold to-day'.

[Aɪ ʈhâɖ ɖe].

[o mar giɛ] 'he is dead'.

[o mar giɛ].

The most prominent syllable generally belongs to the most significant word in the sentence, depending of course upon the *intention* of the speaker, e.g.

[mɛ lahɔr vɛsɔ̃] 'I'll go to Lahore' may be represented in any of the three ways :—

[mɛ lahɔr vɛ sɔ̃] meaning, 'It is *I* that will go to Lahore'.

[mɛ la 'hɔr vɛ sɔ̃] 'I'll go to *Lahore*'.

[mɛ la hɔr 'vɛ sɔ̃] 'I'll go to Lahore'.

The plain statement may refer to any event besides time and place: the same scheme will predominate :—

[us(z)də 'ʃakət ʃamɪɔ̃ ɛ] 'a son is born to him'.

[us(z)də 'ʃa kət ʃam ɪɔ̃ ɛ].

The same scheme occurs in long sentences, as the following examples will show :—

[hɪk dɪhɔrɛ mɔɲɪ ɣhɪn ke bar beri tale bê riɔ̃] 'one day, taking a couch, he sat down outside under a berry tree'.

[hɪk dɪ hɔ ɾe mɔɲ ɪ ɣhɪn ke bar beri ta le bê riɔ̃].

We shall now take a still longer sentence, and see how our scheme works.

[hɪk vari 'cetre de məhineɔ̃ hɪk pɛʈvari 'bhaɔ̃ɖiɔ̃ 'bhaɔ̃ɖiɔ̃ diɔ̃ 'lâtthe vele hɪk(k)i 'dʰokɔ̃ te vaɲ riɔ̃] 'once upon a time, in the month of Chet, a Paṭwārī, wandering about, reached a hamlet at sunset'.

[hɪk va ri ce tre de məhi nec hɪk pɛʈ va ri bhaɔ̃ɖiɔ̃

bhaɔ̃ɖiɔ̃ diɔ̃ tâtthe ve le hɪki dʰo kɔ̃ te vaɲ riɔ̃].

Of the above sentence of 29 syllables, only 6 syllables are prominent, which are the 'centres' of sense-groups.

Note how the quantity of [a] in [vāri], [pəṭ'vāri] commonly long when isolated, has been reduced owing to pretonic position. Similarly, note [hiki] 'one', which is commonly pronounced with a double consonant [hikki], the quantitative reduction being due to the same cause. This quantitative reduction would not be noticeable if the corresponding sentence be pronounced in Panjabi or Hindustani.

As regards the relation of the most prominent syllable to other syllables, the following points may be mentioned:—

- (1) In unemphatic sentences, the most prominent syllable, whether polysyllabic or monosyllabic, if pronounced with a high-falling tone, tends to relatively lower the tone of the succeeding syllables.
- (2) If the most prominent syllable be pronounced with the middle tone, the immediately succeeding syllables are semi-low. If the prominent word is dissyllabic, its tone spreads over the two syllables.

The following examples will illustrate the above points:—

[Aɪ gāḍi 'dā vāje asi] 'the train will come at ten o'clock to-day'.

The above sentence is unemphatic; the most prominent syllable occurs in a monosyllabic word and is accompanied by the high-falling tone; the tone of the succeeding syllables will be relatively lowered:—

$\begin{array}{ccccccc} & & & \frown & & & \\ \text{.} & \text{.} & \text{.} & & \text{.} & \text{.} & \text{.} \\ \hline \text{[Aɪ} & \text{gā} & \text{ḍi} & \text{'dā} & \text{vā} & \text{je} & \text{a si].} \end{array}$

The most prominent syllable occurs in a dissyllabic word and is high-toned; the tones of the syllables succeeding it are relatively lowered:—

[Aɪ gāḍi 'bārā vāje asi] 'the train will come at twelve o'clock to-day'.

$\begin{array}{ccccccc} & & & \frown & & & \\ \text{.} & \text{.} & \text{.} & & \text{.} & \text{.} & \text{.} \\ \hline \text{[Aɪ} & \text{gā} & \text{ḍi} & \text{'bā} & \text{rā} & \text{vā} & \text{je a si].} \end{array}$

[Aɪ gāḍi 'cār vāje asi] 'the train will come at four o'clock to-day'.

The most prominent syllable in the above sentence has the middle tone, the immediately succeeding syllables are semi-low.

$\begin{array}{ccccccc} & & & \text{—} & & & \\ \text{.} & \text{.} & \text{.} & & \text{.} & \text{.} & \text{.} \\ \hline \text{[Aɪ} & \text{gā} & \text{ḍi} & \text{'cār} & \text{vā} & \text{je} & \text{a si].} \end{array}$

When the prominent word is dissyllabic, its tone is spread over the two syllables, as in

[o 'laga pīa e] 'he is engaged'.

· — · · ·
[o laga pīa e].

The most prominent syllable may be just near the end of the sentence, though the last syllable in a plain statement being the finite verb,¹ will be generally at a low monotone, e.g.

[us^(z) di dhiu dē nā sonə 'bai iā] 'the name of his daughter was Sona-bai'.

· · — · — · · ·
[us^(z) di dhiu dē nā so nē bai iā].

Here the most prominent syllable is the last but one syllable, the last syllable [iā] 'was' is the verb, and has low monotone.

B. *Emphasis.*

In Emphasis, the pretonic or post-tonic unstressed syllables are often considerably reduced in tone (except when the 'nucleus' belongs to polysyllabic word). The most prominent syllable follows the sense emphasized, whether that sense be contempt, abuse, disgust, threat, warning, affirmation, interrogation or solemn invocation, as the following examples will show :—

(a) *Contempt.*

['haṭ pare] 'get away !'

· · ·
[haṭ pa re].

(b) *Abuse.*

[dafa ho, rəkhēvē marni] 'get away, you wretch' (lit. may your protectors die !—addressing a dog).

· · · — · ·
['dā fa ho rə khē vē 'mār ni].

(c) *Disgust.*

[jêṛa milē, bheṛa i milē] 'everybody that I have met with has been bad'.

· · · · ·
[jê ṛa mil ē, bhe ṛa i milē].

The use of pitch at the end of the comma is characteristic of sentences ending in a comma, as will be discussed presently.

¹ It may be noted here with interest that the Vedic finite verb was as a rule unaccented and has been so described by Indian grammarians.

(d) *Threat.*

[kʌdī hath la:giō te ja:d rakh sē] 'if ever you touch him,
you will see (lit. remember)'.

· · · ∩ √ · ∩ · ·
[kʌ dī hath la: giō, te ja:d rakh sē].

(e) *Warning (insulting).*

['nikəl ja saɖiō ghar] 'clear out of our house'.

— · · — · —
['ni kəl ja sa ɖiō ghar].

(f) *Affirmation.*

[e vʌɖa 'dāɖa bʌnda e] 'he is a very cruel man'.

· · · · ∩ · · · ·
[e vʌ ɖa 'dāɖa bʌn da e].

(g) *Interrogation (questions of fact or inquiring reasons—
emphatic).*

['hoja ke] or ['kê hoja] 'what then?'.

· ∩ /
[ho ja ke].

∩ · /
['kê ho ja].

[usā 'kiō marɪai] 'why have you beaten him?'.

· · — — · /
[u sā 'kiō marɪa i].

['kitthe] 'where?'.

∩ /
[kīt the].

['kʌ^(d)dən] 'when?'.

— /
[kʌd dən].

(h) *Solemn Invocation.*

['ca khā dər 'ba:r, isā rok rəpʌjje 'ditte æ ni] 'do you
swear by God ('Darbār'—the Sikh Granth) that you
gave cash money to him?'.

— · · — · · · · · /
['ca khā dər 'ba:r i sā rok rə pʌjje 'ditte æ ni].

Scheme II.

In Scheme II the prominent syllable is usually one, but there is a slightly high pitch or prominence at or near the end as well.

Scheme II may be represented by the following sentence:—

[tusi Δɪ kəl 'ke kām kərēde o] 'what are you doing during these days?'

. - . . /
 [tu si Δɪ kəl 'ke kām kərē-de o].
 (what) (doing) (are)

In English the corresponding sentence will have the following intonation:—

— . . — . — —
 ['hwət ə ju 'du ɪŋ ðiz deɪz].

We shall now study the scheme in detail, beginning with the shortest sentences.

(1) Questions of facts (unemphatic).

[ten 'ke ve] 'what has happened to you?'

. / /
 [ten 'ke ve]
 (what)

It should be noted that the most prominent syllable here is at a high rising pitch.

[usã 'ke hojɛ] 'what has happened to him?'

. . / . /
 [u sã 'ke ho jɛ]

[tu usã 'ke akhɪɑ ɪɑ] 'what did you say to him?'

. . . / . . /
 [tu u sã ke akh ɪɑ ɪɑ].

[tusɑdɑ huʃ ke həl e] 'how are you now?'

. . . . / . /
 [tu sɑ dɑ huʃ ke həl e].

It is not necessary that the most prominent syllable should be the interrogative pronoun, as the following examples will show:—

[tu sɑ dɛ ɔɪ ghar kɪthen] 'where is your home?'

. . . / . /
 [tu sɑ dɛ ɔɪ ghar kɪthen].
 (home) (where)

[tusada kam caŋga caldɛ] 'is your business getting on well?'

$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & - & \cdot & / \\ \hline [tu & sa & da & kam & caŋga & cal & dɛ] \\ & & & & & & (well) \end{array}$

The same tune is followed in questions asking reason, the interrogative adverb having the high-rising pitch in unemphatic sentences:—

[usã kiõ maria i] 'why have you beaten him?'

$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \cdot & \cdot & / & - & \cdot & / \\ \hline [u & sã & kiõ & mar & ia & i]. \\ & & & & & (why) \end{array}$

But in authoritative emphasis [kiõ] 'why' will have the high middle tone :— . . .

[o 'kikəŋ mar giɛ] 'how has he died?'

$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \cdot & - & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & / \\ \hline [o & 'ki & kəŋ & mar & giɛ]. \end{array}$

The dissyllabic nucleus has a higher pitch at the second syllable.

Or, the whole interrogative sentence may bear a semi-high pitch, the last syllable low-rising, as in

['rōda kiõ piẽ] 'why are you crying?'

$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & / \\ \hline ['rō & da & kiõ & piẽ]. \end{array}$

(2) Questions requiring the answer 'yes' or 'no'. In this case, besides the 'nucleus' the final syllable has a high pitch.

['jaŋde o] 'are you awake?'

$\begin{array}{ccc} - & \cdot & / \\ \hline [jaŋ & de & o]. \end{array}$

[caol 'khaso] 'will you take some rice?'

$\begin{array}{ccc} \cdot & - & / \\ \hline [caol & kha & so] \end{array}$

[tusi huŋ 'vallo] 'are you well now?'

$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & \cdot & / \\ \hline [tu & si & huŋ & 'val & lo]. \end{array}$

[tusi 'gae do ke nãi] 'did you go or not?'

$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \cdot & \cdot & - & \cdot & \cdot & / \\ \hline [tu & si & gae & do & ke & nãi]. \end{array}$

[huṛ̃ 'ghar vaɽɽ] 'you should go home now'.

— — — — —
[huṛ̃ 'ghar vaɽɽ].

['trikkha paṛi lia] 'bring water quickly'.

— — — — —
['trik kha pa ṛi lia].

(b) *Advice.*

[tusi 'sel kaɾən 'jaɽa kaɾo] 'you should go out for a walk
(from time to time)'.

— — — — —
[tu si sel kaɾən 'ja ja ka ro].

(c) *Warning.*

['ɪɽ nə kaɾia kaɾ, paɕ'tasẽ] 'you should not do in this
way, otherwise you shall have to repent'.

— — — — —
['ɪɽ nə kaɾia kaɾ, paɕ(j)'tasẽ].

(d) *Proposal.*

['ɪɽl, ghar ju 'lâ] 'come, let us go home'.

— — — — —
['ɪɽl ghar ju 'lâ].

(e) *Affection.*

[kaka 'ji:] 'my darling child!'

— — — — —
[ka ka ji:].

[pita 'ji:] 'dear papa!'

— — — — —
[pi ta ji:].

(f) *Courtesy.*

[nəmas te ma'raɽ] 'salutations, sir'.

— — — — —
[nə mas te ma raɽ].

or, to familiar friends:—

— — — — —
[nə mas te ma ra:ɽ].

[ao maraʃ] or [ao maraʃ ji:] 'the salesman's "yes sir"'.
 ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ
 [ao ma raʃ].
 ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ
 [ao ma raʃ ji:].

or, to regular customers:—

ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ
 [ao ma raʃ ji].

[vagra ji ka xalsa:, siri vâgru jiki fate] 'salutations!'
 (current among Sikhs).

ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ
 [vag ru ji ka xal sa: si ri vâg ru ji ki fa te].

(g) *Serious Implication.*

['kôʃ nə puch] 'don't ask anything, i.e. the matter is
 indescribably serious'.

ˌ ˌ ˌ
 [kôʃ nə puch].

['baccəʃ muʃkələ] 'it is difficult for the patient to
 survive—a hopeless case'.

ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ
 [bac cəʃ mʊʃ kəl e].

(h) *Negation.*

[mẽ usã nêi ditti] 'I did not give it to him'.

ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ
 [mẽ usã nêi dît ti].

(i) *Reproach* (without implication).

[tudã 'marna ʃhik nêi ɪa] 'it was not proper for you
 to beat him'.

ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ
 [tu dã 'mar na 'ʃhik nêi ɪa].

(j) *Apology.*

[muʃʃi:, mẽ 'nêi sɪpata, gal 'vaɪɪnəʃ de] 'sir, I did not
 recognize you, please forgive me (lit. let the matter be
 dropped)'.

ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ ˌ
 [muʃʃi: mẽ 'nêi sɪ ɪa ta gal vaɪɪ nəʃ de].

It will be noted that in the last four cases the tone does not rise at the final syllable. These cases therefore strictly follow Scheme I.

Emphasis.

(a) *Emphatic Questions* expecting the answer 'yes' or 'no' follow Scheme II.

[o 'raɛ] 'is he a *king* ?'

— — /
[o 'ra ɛ].

[mɛ̃ cor ă] 'am I a thief ?'

— . /
[mɛ̃ cor ă].

or 'am I a *thief* ?' [mɛ̃ cor ă].

[te tudă 'ɖar năi 'lagɖa] 'but, then, are you not afraid ?'

. . . — . . /
[te tu dă 'ɖar năi 'lag ɖa].

[mɛ̃ koi 'ɟalla vă] 'am I mad ?'

. . — . /
[mɛ̃ koi 'ɟal la vă]. *

(b) *Implications* (emphatic).

[o mă te năi mə'rɛɖa] 'he does not beat *me*' (i.e. he may have beaten somebody else).

. ˘
[o 'mă te năi mə 'rɛ ɖa].

Even if the 'nucleus' is near the last syllable, the final syllable does not fail to have a slightly high pitch.

[manna ɛ tusi baɛ 'ʃă o] 'granted that you are a very rich man'.

— ˘ .
[man nɛ ɛ tu si ba ɛ 'ʃă o].

(c) Sentences implying *Wonder* :—

[tusi ɖin vic ə 'tɰră 'ghaɛtə kam 'karde o] 'do you work eighteen hours a day ?'

. . . . ˘
[tu si ɖin vic ə 'tɰră ră ghaɛ tɛ kam 'kar de o].

(d) *Welcoming* a person, especially on the part of a woman :—

[ˈrakh s̄i di] ‘welcome!’ lit. ‘Protection of God’.

ˈrakh s̄i di.

(e) *Urgency* :—

[ˈmɪʃər ˈpaʃi ˈtrɪkka ˈaʃi] ‘cook! bring water soon’.

ˈmɪ ʃər ˈpa ʃi ˈtrɪk kha ˈa ʃi.

(f) *Implications* (unemphatic) :—

In this case the final syllable may not have a high pitch.

[o ˈval te ˈho ˈvɛ si] ‘he will recover, but—(may be permanently weakened)’.

o ˈval te ˈho ˈvɛ si.

[o ˈpas te ˈho ɡɪɛ] ‘he has passed the exam. (but gets no distinction)’.

o ˈpas te ˈho ɡɪɛ.

(g) *Request* :—

[ɛ ˈzara ˈɪdde ˈho ˈjaʃa] ‘step aside a little, please’
(corresponding to English ‘thank you’).

ɛ ˈza ra ˈɪd de ˈho ˈja ʃa.

A long sentence with many words ending in commas will follow Scheme II.

[ˈmɪʃər, nai, ˈdhabbe, ˈcûre, ˈpaoli, ˈsarɪan ˈroʃi khəˈva
‘you should feed all the cooks, barbers, washermen,
sweepers and weavers’.

ˈmɪ ʃər, nai, ˈdhab be, ˈcû re, ˈpaoli ˈsa rian ˈro ʃi khə
ˈva.

(h) *Warning* (unemphatic) :—

[ˈapʃe ˈvaɖiã ˈnal ʈat̪̪a n̄i karn̄i] ‘you should not joke
your elders’.

ˈap ʃe ˈvaɖ iã nal ʈa ʈa ˈn̄i ˈkar n̄i

[hɛɾ nə 'kariɪ kɑɾ] 'you should not do in this way
(otherwise you shall repent)'.
 . — — . —

[hɛɾ 'nə 'kɑɾ iɪ kɑɾ].

[ʔapʰɛ 'pɪŋɔ di mu'tɪai 'te mæg'ruri nə 'kɑɾo] 'you should
not be proud of the stoutness of your body'.
 — — . . /

[ʔap ʰɛ 'pɪŋɔ di mu'tɪ ai te mæg' ru ɾi nə 'kɑ ro].

Complex or Compound Sentences.

(1) Interrogative complex or compound sentences follow Scheme II, the final pitch of both the principal and the subordinate clauses being high.

[mɛ ʰɛ 'tɛɖi 'tɔpi ɔɔ 'ghɪnnā, te tu'dā e gal 'ɔŋgi 'lɑɟsi]
'suppose I were to take away your cap, would you
like this thing?'
 / . . . — — . . — . . /

[mɛ ʰɛ 'tɛɖi 'tɔpi ɔɔ ghɪnnā, te tu'dā e gal ɔŋgi lɑɟ si].

[mɛ 'ke 'bura 'kita, mā pə'sɪnd ai te mɛ 'ɔɔ ghɪddi] 'what
wrong have I committed? I liked it and have taken
it'.
 . / . . — . . / — . . / . .

[mɛ ke bu ra ki ta, mā pə 'sɪnd ai te mɛ ɔɔ ghɪd di].

(2) Affirmative complex and compound sentences tend to follow a modification of Schemes I and II, in which the syllables of the actual principal sentence tend to be low, and the syllable with the highest pitch generally belongs to the subordinate clause.

(a) Complex Sentences.

The subordinate clause, being really an incomplete sentence, has generally two prominent syllables, the highest prominence being near the comma, as is often the case with syllables before the comma in Lahnda.

[ɟɛɾ pɛrmeʃɾe ā mən'ɟu:ɾ e, uɔ i hosi] 'whatever is the
will of God, that will happen'.
 / / ~ . —

[ɟɛ ɾa pɛr meʃ re ā mən ɟu:ɾ e uā i ho si].

[ɟis vele ghɔɾa pəʃieɔ 'vaɾiɪ, tã khə'lo: ɟɾi] 'as soon as
the horse entered the water, he halted'.
 / . . — . / . — / . . ~ .

[ɟis ve le ghɔ ɾa pə ʃieɔ 'vaɾ iɪ, tã khə 'lo: ɟɾi].

[us di e akh̥fi oi, je ɟat̪ti ʰar ʰar kammən laggi] 'he had hardly said this, when the peasant's wife began to shiver'.

· · · — · √ · · · — · — · — ·
[us di e 'akh̥fi oi, je ɟat̪ti 'ʰar 'ʰar kam mən laggi].

Here the actual principal sentence is the second sentence, and so it is this which has a comparatively lower intonation.

In an interrogative sentence, however, the principal sentence may have a higher intonation :—

[k̥ɛɾa ē tũ ɟis durō i 'bhāo 'bhāo lai hoi e] 'who are you that is barking at a distance ?'

∩ · · · — · — — — · /
[k̥ɛ ɾa ē tũ ɟis du rō i bhāo bhāo lai hoi e] (cf. pp. 100 ff.).

(b) Compound Sentences.

In a compound sentence the last sentence has a comparatively lower intonation, unless something special is to be emphasized :—

[unā 'khāda, utō 'paɾi pito nē, te mar gae] 'they ate (it), took some water after it, and died'.

· ∩ · · · — · — · · — ·
[unā khā da, utō paɾi 'pito nē, te mar gae].

[o khā:vēɾ betha, us nāo makhiā mar sat̪iā] 'he sat down to eat, (and) killed nine flies'.

· — · — — · — · — — ·
[o kha vēɾ be ʰa, us nāo makhiā mar sat̪ iā].

QUANTITY.

Of the ten Lahnda vowels, four are short, viz. [i], [u], [ʌ] and [ə], as in [mis] 'a kind of pulse', [rus] 'be angry', [ras] 'a kind of lotion for the eyes', [us də 'ɟakət] 'his child'. The other six vowels [i], [e], [ɛ], [a], [o], [u] are long; but they maintain their length only under certain conditions. (1) They are long in monosyllables, provided they are neither pretonic nor post-tonic, e.g. [ris] 'envy', [les] 'a fluid', [bes] 'a debate', [ras] 'sign of the Zodiac', [ros] 'anger', [rus] 'Russia'. (2) These vowels are even longer when at the end of (stressed) monosyllables, as in [pi] 'drink', [ne] 'is it?', [ɟe] 'victory', [pɑ] 'put', [ro] 'weep', [su] 'delivery'. But when these vowels are in polysyllabic words, they tend to be short even in the final position (provided that they do not have a particularly strong stress at the final syllable, as in [ce'la] 'set in motion'

but cf. ['cala] 'custom', e.g. the final [i], [e], [ɛ], [a], [o], [u], and [e] of ['kaki] 'a girl', ['kake] 'boys', ['jate] 'has known', ['kaka] 'a boy', ['kako] 'O girl!', ['kaku] 'a boy' (in endearment) respectively are short or very nearly short. Similarly both the [a]'s of ['kaka] 'a boy' are short; in fact the first [a] of ['kaka] 'boy' seems to be even shorter than the [Δ] of [ɾas] 'lotion for the eyes'.¹ Again, [a] in [pa] 'put' has full length, in [pap] 'sin' it is also long, though a little shorter, but both the [a]'s of ['papa] 'a leaf' are short, or very nearly short. Similarly the [i]'s in ['siɪ] 'a whistle' and the [e]'s in ['peke] 'parental home' are not long. The [i]'s of ['siɪ] 'a whistle' are not longer than the [i] of [liɪ] 'horse's dung', though they are appreciably longer than the [i] of [liɪ] 'a beam in the eye'.

A vowel pronounced with the high-falling tone tends to be slightly shorter than when it is toneless, thus the [a] of [pā] 'manure' and the [ɛ] of [lē] 'descend' are slightly shorter than the [a] of [pa] 'put' and the [ɛ] of [ɛ] 'take' respectively.

In the pretonic or post-tonic positions the quantity of the Lahnda vowels is reduced very considerably, thus the final [i] in [siɪ 'nal] 'with a whistle' or in [mā 'siɪ de] 'give the whistle to me', [ɛ] in [jɛ 'dai] 'name of a woman', the second the third and the fourth [a]'s in ['kala ʃa (ə) 'kaku] 'name of a village' are very short.

A vowel seems to be also shortened before a double consonant, e.g. the [ɪ] of [mit̪ti] 'clay' is considerably shorter than the [ɪ] of [khit̪] 'heel' or [liɪ] 'a beam in the eye'.

In the stressed position, a vowel tends to be long when it is *final*, thus the final [a] in [jɛ ram 'das] 'name of a man', and the final [e] in [e tere peke 'ne] 'is it thy paternal home?' are long. Otherwise the stressed vowel may be short, though it is considerably longer than the pretonic or post-tonic vowels. Thus in [kala ʃa 'kaku] 'name of a village', the [a] of the syllable [ka] receives the strongest stress, but it is short. On the other hand, in [e 'tere peke 'ne] 'is it thy paternal home?' the [e] of the stressed syllable [te] is long, though it is considerably shorter than the [e] of the final word [ne] 'is it?'.

Vowels before voiced consonants are slightly longer than before the breathed ones, cf. [liɪ] 'a beam in the eye' but [liɪ] 'cow's dung', ['siɪ] 'a whistle' but ['piɾe] 'pain' (oblique): here [ɪ] and [i] before [d] and [r] respectively are longer than before [t] and [t̪].

Diphthongs are shorter when pure, thus in [jɛ 'dai] 'name of a woman', [ai] is shorter when it is a pure diphthong; it is longer when there is a minimum of prominence between [Δ] and [i].

¹ Kymographic tracings from my pronunciation have given the above facts.

Of the 31 diphthongs, the following four have their second element long :—

[ɔi] as in [jɛ dɔi] 'name of a woman'.

[uɔ] as in [dʊɔni] 'a two-anna piece'.

[io] as in [ghio] 'ghee'.

[iu] as in [piu] 'father' (oblique).

The longer quantity of the second element makes them rising diphthongs.

The quantity of a consonant does not seem to be considerably affected by the preceding vowel, thus the [s] in [ras] 'eye-lotion' and [ras] 'sign of the Zodiac', [rus] 'be angry' and [rus] 'Russia' only slightly varies in quantity. This seems to indicate that Lahnda is not a language of 'dynamic stress'.

The quantity of consonants is significant in Lahnda, as in ['sati] 'chaste' but ['satti] 'seventh' (in playing cards), for further details see p. 86.

It has been shown in the above pages (94, 97) that in connected speech the quantity of a particular syllable is an incident of rhythm. The above rules of quantity, therefore, are subject to this important condition. Thus the [ɑ] of [pɑ] 'put' is no doubt very long, but it becomes very short even in the unemphatic sentence ['dɔlic lʊf pɑ] 'put some salt in the lentils'. Similarly even the significant double consonant of a word like [satti] 'seventh' is considerably shortened when the stress-receiving 'nucleus' is some other word, as in [je 'ɕiri(j)ɛ di sati nã hōdi] 'if I had not the seventh (sati) of spades'.

SYLLABIC DIVISION.

Syllabic division, like quantity, is mostly an incident of rhythm. If syllabic division is really a demarcation of the various peaks of prominence in connected speech, the real peak in Lahnda rhythm being generally the 'nucleus' and only a few prominent syllables in the sentence, the actual division in Lahnda is not so much syllabic as between the 'nucleus' and the other lower syllables. Among the less prominent syllables it is generally a matter of convention where we divide.

With the above reservation, the following rules of syllabic division in Lahnda may be laid down :—

(1) Intervocalic consonants tend to go with the succeeding syllable, and a striking evidence of this is the doubling of the final consonant before an initial vowel (see p. 86). Thus the words [jɔt, ɦ] ('peasant, was') when in connected speech become [jɔtt ɔ], the doubling being intended to bring the [t] to the succeeding syllable. In dissyllabic words also, although no doubling occurs, the tendency is apparent, e.g. ['do putter ɔe] 'there were two sons' is actually pronounced ['do putte rɔe].

It is a significant fact that in dissyllabic words the high-falling tone is always on the first, and never on the second, syllable, cf. [kôra] 'a leper' but [krâ] 'pudding'. In such dissyllabic words, therefore, the division of prominence is easy, the [r] of [kôra], the [r] of [dôra] 'double' and the [n] of [kâna] 'name of a man' belong to the succeeding less prominent syllable.

But in monotone isolated dissyllabic words like [vakat] 'time', [karəd] 'knife', it is difficult to say whether the intervocalic consonant belongs to the preceding or the succeeding syllable. It is rather divided between the two syllables. In connected speech especially, the division will be pure convention. The difficulty is aggravated in the case of diphthongs and the so-called 'triphthongs' as in [aia] 'came', [pârie] 'let us read', where it is difficult to determine whether the [i] and the [i] belong to the succeeding syllable.

(2) The case of consonant-groups, however, is easier. As there is generally a plosion of a consonant before another, the syllabic division of [ʔadmi] 'man', [ʔap̃i] 'one's own' will be [ad/mi], [ap̃/i], other things being equal.

A plosive before [r] and [j], however, presents some difficulty when the word is unstressed, as in [khatrɪ 'car pɛsɛ dɪtɛ] 'the Khatri gave four pice'. It is here difficult to say to which syllable to assign the [t] of [khatrɪ], because [t] is not exploded before [r]. But the case is easier when the word is stressed and is pronounced [khattri], the first acoustic [t] will then belong to [khat], the second to [tri].

APPENDIX A.

The Janam Sākhī¹ of Guru Nānak.

The oldest literary record in Lahnda is a portion of the biography² (*janam-sākhī*, 'witness of life') of Guru Nānak, the date of which is said to be 1654 A.D., as the opening line of the work mentions the 5th of Besākh Samvat 1597 as the date when this book was written by Pairā Mokhā, a 'Khatretā' of Sultānpur.³ He acted as scribe, while the work was actually dictated by Bhāi Bālā, a disciple of Guru Nānak.

This work contains 170 Sākhīs or chronicles, of which only 25 Sākhīs show definite traces of Lahnda, although even in these

¹ The transcription used in the Appendices is not phonetic, but it follows the *transliteration* scheme of the Royal Asiatic Society. Both the works examined being literary, it is not sure what the actual pronunciations of the writers were. It has been therefore considered safer to use *transliteration*.

² Published by Gulāb Singh and Sons, Samvat 445 of Nānak.

³ Page 5.

Panjabi is more predominant. The most important Sākhī in Lahnda is the chronicle of Lālo on pp. 78 ff., next in importance is Nānak's journey to Mecca, pp. 123 ff. Other interesting Sākhīs for our purpose are the chronicle of Nānki, pp. 235 ff. and interview with Farid, pp. 361 ff.

The language of these 25 Sākhīs is characteristic of the one spoken by Sādhus at the present day. It is a mixture of broken Hindi, Panjabi and Lahnda, and betrays the language of a traveller who has either forgotten his mother-tongue or has adapted his speech to the linguistic environment of the people with whom he comes in contact, as he goes from place to place. The following specimens will show the mixed nature of this dialect :—

- (1) p. 377 : [mar vanjāge] 'we shall die'.
- (2) p. 95 : [khotē ko saṭṭ detā hā] 'he throws down the corrupt'.
- (3) p. 42 : [jivē tusī ākhso, tivē hī karāge] 'we shall do as you will say'.
- (4) p. 465 : [asī tādē pīr dī mulākāt ko jāte āhe] 'we were going for an interview with your teacher'.
- (5) p. 41 : [avo kālu vatt kyā hoyā hā ?] 'O Kālu, well, what has happened ?'

This dialectic medley considerably reduces the value of the work for our purpose. The following conspectus of the grammar, syntax and vocabulary of the Lahnda occurring in this work may be of interest :—

The grammatical structure of the language indicates Central (Grierson's 'Standard') Lahnda. There occur only a few examples of Southern L., in which [kū] instead of [nū] appears as post-position, cf. [asā kū] 'to us' (p. 132), [mā kū] (p. 133); Southern cerebralization occurs in a few cases like [ḍukhre] (p. 152), [dehre] for [dehre] (p. 138). All these specimens occur in the Sākhī on Mecca. Otherwise there occurs no Southern cerebralization, while the post-position for the dative and the accusative is [nū] throughout. The oblique singular is characteristic of the Central, it has no [e] except in a few examples like [dile dā] (p. 173), [kaṛāe vic] (p. 88), [rūhe dī] 'of the soul' (p. 173). The pronoun is also characteristic of the Central; the stem [ter- mer-] is used throughout except a single instance [tādē] on p. 465. The second person plural is [tusādā] throughout, while the agent case singular is [tudh], e.g. [tudh māññ aj nihāl kitā] 'thou hast delighted me today' (p. 79).

As regards the verb, the present tense is formed from the present participle, and the interesting form khavāindā, the prototype of [khavādā] has been mentioned above (cf. p. 52). The pres. part. has generally [dā], though in some instances [nā] also occurs [tū oh nazar āvnā hā] 'thou appearest to be he' (p. 78).

The past continuous sense is similarly formed, cf. [karēde āhe] 'they were doing' (p. 81), and the stem for 'was' or 'were' is [āh-] throughout; the interesting form [āhiā] also occurs. There are instances in which the passive 3rd person plural ends in [-ian], cf. [kahīan] 'are called' (p. 133), [cun cun kaḍhīan phuṭṭiā] 'balls of cotton are plucked and taken out' (p. 153). The modern forms in Kahūni, e.g. [marīn], [kuṭīn] may be traced to [*marīan], [*kuṭīan] likely to have occurred in the language of our author. These examples indicate that the Prakrit [j] of the passive was lost in the Central several centuries ago, though in others it is still preserved, cf. Multani [marījan]. Central [marīvan] finds a parallel instance in [pakṛīvan] on p. 81. The [i] of the passive is further illustrated by the pres. part. (passive) [uṭhāiti], p. 41. In Kahūni the preceding ā has been shortened, e.g. [cāidi], from [cā] 'to lift'.

As regards syntax, we do not find any instances of the auxiliary [cā] for the Perfective, cf. p. 54; the Central [ghatt] is used in [saṭṭ ghatt] 'throw it away' (p. 294), both the verbs being literally synonymous. Another interesting way of expressing the Perfective is by the present participle form, e.g. [caldā rihā] 'he went away' (p. 239), [calde rahe] (p. 507), cf. Hindi [jāte rahe]. The [rahe] 'left' or 'kept' has the sense of 'finished'; [bane] is also used in Hindi in this sense; cf. [calte bane]. On the other hand, the present continuous has been expressed by the auxiliary verb [vad-] 'to wander' (Skr. [vartt-]), cf. [niśāniā makke diā vadiā hā] 'signs of Mecca are (appearing)' (p. 131), cf. modern Central [jādā vadā he] 'he is going'.

There are a few instances in which the post-position [ne] does not follow the oblique case with the transitive, e.g. [us dittā] 'he gave' (p. 91), [tudh kitī hā] 'thou hast done' (p. 128), [mardāne ginti khādi] 'Mardānā began to worry' (p. 79). This absence of [ne] finds a parallel in modern Northern dialects like Kahūni.

There are occasional examples of elliptical repetition which remind one of the style of the Brāhmaṇas, cf. [man likhaṇ-hārā, likhiā so kyā likhiā? māyā kā janjāl likhiā] 'the mind was the scribe. And it wrote—what did it write?—it wrote the magic of Māyā' (p. 8); [āge dekhē, tā kyā dekhē] 'further, they saw, and what did they see?' (p. 457); [Lālo jāi dekhe, tā kyā dekhe] (p. 81) 'Lālo went and saw, and what did he see?'

As regards vocabulary, the following striking words may be mentioned:—

I. Nouns derived from Sanskrit.

[malār] 'gardener' (p. 453). Kahūni has [maliār], Skr. [mālākāra-]. The Kahūni form, however, seems to be more archaic, representing a stage before the single contraction [ā] had been effected. Similarly Punjab-L. [suniārā], Hindi [sunār].

[ban-mānu] 'man-ape' (p. 100). Here [mānu] is exactly parallel to Lahnda [mānu], for in Lahnda we have three different words for 'man', each of which has a different nuance. [manukh], a loan-word from Hindi, means 'man in general'; [muṇas] is 'a paramour'—a term of abuse; while [mānu] is a grotesque or odd person, and this meaning finds a parallel in the example before us.

[jaññiu] 'sacred thread' (p. 78). This is the Northern L. word for Skr. [yajñiopavita-], Panj. and Sindhi being [janeu]. [jaññiu] seems to be a more archaic form and indicates the Northern L. tendency to *yamas*, thus for [vanj-] South.-Cent. 'to go' we have North. L. [vaññ], for Panj. [vaṅgā] 'bracelets', N.L. has [vaññā].

[pālī] 'a shepherd' (p. 508), a general term used for the particular, going back to Skr. [* (ajā)-pālīka-]. Modern Lahnda has [ājarī].

[tapā] (p. 81) or [tapājī] (p. 457) 'an ascetic'. [tapā] may presumably be traced to an analogical [*tapakaḥ], but the formation of [tapājī] is obscure.

[śīh] 'tiger' (pp. 130, 377). Modern Lahnda and Sin. are also [sī] and [śīh] respectively. Besides the latter, Trumpp (p. XVI) gives another example of initial Skr. [s] becoming [ś] in Sindhi, viz. [sādh] 'a rich man' from Skr. [sādhū]. Panj. and L. also have [sā] 'a rich man', but it may be related to Persian [sāh] 'a king'. The example from our author shows that this palatal substitution for [s] in [śīh] is fairly old.

[virāg] 'feeling of separation', e.g. in [mā bahut virāgī sī] 'I intensely felt the pang of separation' (p. 235). It is in this sense that the word [virāg] occurs among illiterate Lahnda speakers at the present day.

II. Nouns derived from Persian and Arabic.

[khāvand] in the sense of 'owner'. [is lāl dā khāvand ākhdā hā] 'the owner of this ruby says' (p. 91); [bhāvē khāvand vece] 'whether the owner sells it' (p. 91). This use of [khāvand] in the sense of 'owner', as it is in Persian, indicates that [khāvand] 'husband' Panj.-L. [khaūnd] is a comparatively recent usage, the Persian word for 'husband' being 'šauhar', the corresponding Panj.-L. [sāu] being used only in poetry.

[malak] 'title of a Khatri' (p. 80). [malak bhāgū herar khatri sarīn sī] 'Malak Bhāgū Herar (?) was a Sarīn Khatri' who is said to have given a dinner to Brahmans. In modern Lahnda [malak] is a title among Muslim landowners, but more often a term of courtesy for Āwān cultivators and camel-drivers. According to Johnson (Persian Dict.) [malkā] in Zand and Pazand means 'a king', while in Persian we have [milkdār] 'a landowner'. Our author indicates that even Khatri had this

title in the 16th century, as some of them bear at the present day.¹

[tagīd] 'insistence' (p. 83), Sin. tāgīd, Arabic tākid. This vocalization of *k* occurs also in the final position in [nisaṅg] 'fearless', Skr. [niḥśaṅka-]. [bhāi tu nisaṅg ho] 'brother, be fearless' (p. 423). Modern Lahnda-Panj. [niśaṅg].

[mahram] 'an intimate knower of one's secrets'. [is de hāl de āp mahram ho] 'you are familiar with the secrets of his affairs' (p. 43). The word is common among illiterate Lahnda speakers and occurs in one of the most popular Lahnda songs:—[māde hāle diā mahrmā ḍolā] 'O dear, the intimate knower of my secret'.

III. Verbs derived from Sanskrit.

[pahutā] 'reached' (128, 132), a common form in L. Panjabi [pāuc-], Hindi [pahūc]. The L. form is possibly connected with Apabhramśa [pahoiam] 'satisfied' mentioned by Hemacandra in his *Deśi-nāma-mālā* (pp. 190, 191).

[saṁtāyā] 'tortured'. [mānū bhukh ne barā saṁtāyā hā] 'hunger has tortured me' (p. 336), a form older than modern Hindi [satāyā], Skr. [saṁtāpaya-].

[vaṇḍ-] 'to quarrel' occurs in [jā mardā nū diṭṭhō ne tā laggiā āpas vic vaṇḍiā pāvan] 'when they saw the men, they began to quarrel among themselves' (p. 336). This is an idiomatic sense of [vaṇḍ-] 'to divide', but radically it is the same as the verb [vaṇḍ-] 'to divide' in Pāṇini's *Dhātu-pāṭha*.

[khaṇḍ-] 'to be irritated'. [tū bhī roj khaṇḍā hā] 'thou art also irritated every day' (p. 41). This is a common verb in Lahnda, cf. Sindhi [khaṇḍu] 'to be irritated', from Skr. [kṣapaya-] 'to exhaust'. The causative form in Lahnda is [khaṇḍā] 'to tease'. It is interesting to note how in both the languages the original sense of exhaustion has led to the semantic change into 'irritation',—a psychological phenomenon natural to fatigue.

APPENDIX B.

The Asrār-i-Farīdī.

The *Asrār-i-Farīdī* is an entirely modern work, and its authorship should not be confused with either of the other two *Farīds*. In the history of Muslim saints in the Panjab there have been three *Farīds*:—

(1) Bābā Shaikh Farīdu-d-Dīn Sāhib Shakar Ganj of Pākpaṭan in the Montgomery District,² who died in 1265-66 A.D., wrote in Persian, and the *bairis* or short poems attributed to him and published by Malak Dīn Muhammad, Bookseller, Lahore,

¹ Cf. Malak Devī Dās, a rich landowner of Shāhpur District.

² *Punjab Gazetteer*: Montgomery Distt. for 1918, pp. 234-237.

are really the authorship of one Pir Bakhsh who gives his name at the end of every couplet, and whose language is not Lahnda, but Panjabi.

Another Farid known as Bābā Farid or Shaikh Farid is traditionally known as a contemporary of Guru Nānak, and in the Janam Sākhī we find a whole Sākhī (pp. 361 ff.) devoted to Nānak's interview with Farid. Farid's language in this interview is Lahnda, as may be seen from the following couplet (p. 361) :—

[ake tã lor mukaddamī ake tã allāh lor
do berī nā latt dhar mat vanjē vakkhar bor]

‘either seek after law-suits or seek after God; do not put thy foot (‘leg’) on two boats, lest thou shouldst be drowned’.

The oblique forms [mukaddamī] and [berī], and the words [vanjē] and [bor] are clear specimens of Lahnda. The ‘Kāfis’ or short poems attributed to this Farid have been incorporated into the Ādi Granth and published as a separate booklet by Sant Singh and Sons, Lahore. It has a few traces here and there of Lahnda, e.g. [karendī] (p. 4), [jindū kũ] (p. 1), [jāsi] (p. 1), the oblique in [matī dēdiā] ‘giving advice’ (p. 5) and the vocabulary such as [nandharā] (p. 3), [thī] ‘be’, [biā] ‘another’ (p. 5), the nominative plural in [rātī vaddiā] (p. 7). But on the whole the treatise is in Hindi and Panjabi.

The work before us, however, the Asrār-i-Faridī, better known as Diwān-i-Faridī¹ is written in Lahnda *par excellence*, and although quite modern, is worthy of study, considering the poverty of literature in Lahnda. The author is Khwāja Ghulām Farid,² a Muslim saint who became the see-holder [sajjāda-našin] of the shrine at Cācrān Sharif (in Bahawalpur State) in 1870.

The language is consistently Southern L., cerebralization of initial consonants for corresponding Skr. voiced unaspirated consonants being maintained throughout, e.g. in [devam] (p. 17), [ḍukh] (p. 3), [ḍin] (p. 16). In noun and pronoun declension the agent case has the termination [ē] for masculine, related to Skr. [ena], e.g. [ḍukh ḍukhrē jēra tāyā] ‘the trouble which has been aggravated by this calamity’ (p. 3); [jē kul rāz sujhāiā] ‘by which all the mystery has been revealed’ (p. 9).

The language is rich in diminutive forms, e.g. [gujhre hāse] ‘hidden smiles’ (p. 9), [tāḍrā vārā] ‘thy turn’ (p. 7), [hañjṛū] ‘tears’ (p. 10), [be patṛi] ‘dishonourbale’ (p. 10), [aukharīā ghātā] ‘hard blows’. Most of these diminutive forms probably appear *metri causa*, but in shorter forms like [patṛi], [tāḍrā], the diminutive may be due to the need for a distinctive meaning, cf. Lithuanian [moter] ‘wife or woman’, [moteriške] ‘woman’.

¹ Published (1902) by Miān Khudā Bakhsh, Ghais Bakhsh, Lahore.

² *Punjab Gazetteer*, Bahawalpur State, p. 181.

The vocabulary is characteristic of Lahnda, but occasionally presents interesting variation of nuance from corresponding North. Lahnda words.

[bhas] 'ashes'. [ísk de rāh vic bhas pāya] 'threw ashes in the path of love' (p. 10). The word is characteristic of Lahnda; Sin. [bhasu], Skr. [bhasma-].

[galakṛi] (p. 16) 'an embrace'. N.L. [galangrī] or [galvangrī] 'throwing arms round one's neck'. The phonetic connection between the N. and the S. words is obscure.

[sahams=sahasra-] (p. 21). The nasal infix in the illiterate pronunciation of [sahasra-] is also current in N.L., where it is pronounced [sahamsar], with a Svarabhakti.

[hikjā] and [bejā] for 'first' and 'second' respectively (p. 18). The stem [hik] in the ordinal is interesting, N.L. and Panj. have [pālā], N. [hikallā] means 'alone'.

[šālā] 'may God' (p. 20) is used by illiterate Muslims for Arabic [in-šā'-Allāh] 'may God wish'.

[sir-sūl] 'headache' in [sir sūl tātā] 'headache has troubled me' (p. 11). When physical pain is intended, N.L. uses the word [sūl] exclusively for *abdominal* pain, and so does Panjabi, cf. Sindhi [sūli] 'the gripes', Skr. [sūla-], but for other pains N.L. has [pīr] as in [sir-pīr] 'headache'. But in figurative speech [sūl] in N.L. suggests 'intense pain', e.g. [tudā ke sūl e] 'what agony do you have?' said to a person without any serious trouble. S.L., then, seems to have further generalized the meaning of [sūl].

[hokā] 'proclamation' (p. 8) is a word peculiar both to S. and N., Sin. [hoko], Skr. [hve] 'to call'. Panj. has [tāṇḍhora], The pres. part. is consistently formed by [ēdā], e.g. [kahēdā], [sujhēdā], [sahēdā] (pp. 14, 17). The pres. part. continuous (adjective) is formed by the suffix [ē], going back to Skr. [an], e.g. [rātī rōdē tapdē khapdē] '(I passed) the night crying, burning and worrying' (p. 16). Similarly [dukhdē] 'burning', [dukhdē] 'suffering', [jhukhdē] 'grumbling' (p. 24).

There are a few interesting past part. like [nītā] in [āpne nāl na nītā] 'he did not take me with him' (p. 19), [vihāṇi] 'passed away', [kāg udāde umar vihāṇi] 'I have wasted my career in flying crows' (p. 16). Both these forms appear to be nearly the same as in Skr., but they are really analogical like [kītā], [dinnā].

The Causative proper is formed by [vā] as in [sir kapvāyā] 'caused the head to be cut off' (p. 7); the transitive causative is formed by [lā] or [ā], as in [muklāyā] 'released' (p. 2), [valāiā] 'turned' (plural) (p. 2).

The syntax is rich in pronominal suffixes, as Southern Lahnda is. The suffix [m] is used both for the nominative and the dative, e.g. the nominative in [āyam zulam kahar vic] 'I came to torture and misfortune' (p. 28), but the dative in [āyam Faridā sakhtī dā sāyā] 'O Farid, the shadow of trouble has

come to me' (p. 11), [koī puchaṇ na vēre āyam] 'nobody came to my courtyard to inquire after me' (p. 14).

The perfective is formed by groups of different verbs, as [saṭ sadhāyā] 'came up' (p. 11), [mār munjhāyā] 'killed out' (p. 8).

There occur a number of striking particles, e.g. [toṇī] in [toṇī disdam sakṭ karib] 'although it may appear very near to me' (p. 24). North. L. has [toṛe], Panjabi has generally [bhāvē], Dogri [bhaliā] = Hindi [cāhe], cf. Lithuanian [norint]. [toṛe] is related to [toṛ] 'end' (lit. 'break'), referring to the object of the condition, i.e. 'though the end may be'. But the nasal form [toṇī] in our author is obscure. Another particle is [tāve] 'even then' = Skr. [tathāpi], North. L. has [tāvi]. The example indicates the Lahnda tendency to change the final [i] of particles to [e], cf. Panj. [kī] 'what', L. [ke] or [kā].

Āzād Bilgrāmī.

By SAYYID WAJAHAT HUSAIN.

As-Sayyid Ghulām 'Alī 'Āzād' bin as-Sayyid Nūḥ al-Husainī al-Wāsiṭī¹ was born on Sunday, the 25th Ṣafar, 1116 A.H. (29th June, 1704 A.D.) in Maidānpūra, a locality in Bilgrām.² He received his early education from Mir Tufail Muḥammad Bilgrāmī³ who was a renowned scholar of his age. Next, he studied books on literature, rhetoric and prosody under his maternal uncle as-Sayyid Muḥammad⁴ bin as-Sayyid 'Abd al-Jalīl Bilgrāmī. His maternal grandfather as-Sayyid 'Abd al-Jalīl Bilgrāmī⁵ was a versatile scholar whose fame in the

¹ Wāsiṭ is the name of a city founded in 'Irāq by al-Hajjāj bin Yūsuf, between the year A.H. 83-86 (A.D. 702-705). Al-Hajjāj made a permanent camp for the Syrian troops at a place in 'Irāq with the object of putting an end to the troubles between them and the 'Irāqīs. This new place where the soldiers were stationed was given the name Wāsiṭ (middle) for it was roughly midway between Kūfa and Baṣra, which were the two principal cities of 'Irāq at that time.

One of the ancestors of Āzād, named Abū'l Fath, settled there and consequently the family is called 'Wāsiṭī Sayyids'. *Ma'āthir al-Kirām*, p. 270.

² Bilgrām is the headquarters of the *Tahsil* of the same name, Hardoi District, United Province. It has produced a number of Muḥammadans who have attained distinction as officials or in literature. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. VIII, p. 235.

³ Mir Tufail Muḥammad Bilgrāmī was born, 1073 A.H. (1662 A.D.) and died 1151 A.H. (1738 A.D.). See *Ma'āthir al-Kirām*, pp. 149-58.

⁴ Sayyid Muḥammad was born in 1101 A.H. (1689 A.D.) in Bilgrām. He was appointed on his father's retirement to his post of Bakhshī and Waqā'i' Nigār in Siwistān, and held it throughout the troubled period of Nādir Shāh's invasion. He left Siwistān in 1155 A.H. (1742 A.D.) and in the following year settled in his native town where he lived on to an advanced age. See *Ma'āthir al-Kirām*, pp. 293-96 and Rieu, *Br. Mus. Cat.*, vol. III, p. 963.

⁵ Sayyid 'Abd al-Jalīl, a member of the ancient family of the Wāsiṭī Sayyids who claim to have settled since 614 A.H. (1217 A.D.) in Bilgrām, was celebrated for his profound knowledge of Arabic and his eminent piety. He entered the service of Emperor Aurangzib (A.H. 1069-1118; A.D. 1659-1707) and discharged the duties of Bakhshī and Waqā'i' Nigār from 1112 A.H. (1700 A.D.) to 1116 A.H. (1704 A.D.) in Gujrāt, and from 1117 A.H. (1705 A.D.) to 1130 A.H. (1717 A.D.) in Bahkar and Siwistān. He then retired to Delhi, where he died in 1138 A.H. (1725 A.D.) at the age of sixty-six. See *Ma'āthir al-Kirām*, pp. 257-77 and Rieu, *Br. Mus. Cat.*, vol. III, p. 963. Among his compositions the following are well-known :—

- (i) *Tabṣirat an-Nāziriin*, historical and biographical notices relating chiefly to Bilgrām. Rieu, *Cat.*, vol. III, p. 963.
- (ii) *Amwāj Khayāl*, a *mathnavi* in praise of Bilgrām. *Ma'āthir al-Kirām*, p. 266.

hospitality and courtesy of his host. He came to Mecca on the 23rd Muḥarram. As the time of pilgrimage had passed away, Āzād left for Madina on the 26th Muḥarram and reached there on the 25th Ṣafar just after one month. Āzād was then 35 years old. There Āzād paid his respects to ash-Shaikh Muḥammad Ḥayāt as-Sindī al-Madani¹ who had migrated to Madina and settled there, and studied Ḥadīth under him. On the 14th Shawwāl 1151 A.H. (1738 A.D.) Āzād set out for pilgrimage and reached Mecca on the 26th Shawwāl. After performing the pilgrimage he read Ḥadīth again from Ash-Shaikh 'Abd al-Wahhāb at-Taṭṭāwī.² He stood high in the favour of the Shaikh who amused in passing his leisure-hours listening to his poetry. He appreciated it much and dwelling on the meaning of the word 'Āzād' remarked, "you are an emancipated slave of God".

Āzād, next visited the famous shrines in Tā'if and reached Jedda in the end of Rabī' II, 1152 A.H. (1739 A.D.). On the 3rd Jumāda I, he boarded a ship and landed at Mukhā, where he paid a visit to the famous shrine of ash-Shaikh ash-Shādhilī.³ On the 29th Jumāda I, he reached Sūrat and after a brief stay there for 5 months started for Deccan. On the 27th Dhū'l Qa'da, 1152 A.H. (1739 A.D.) he arrived at Aurangābād and led a retired life at the shrine of Bābā Shāh⁴ Musāfir Naqshbandī for some time. He then made extensive tours on foot in the different parts of Deccan and visited the holy shrines and historical places of the country.

Āzād was really an independent man in the true sense of the term. Nawāb Nizām ad-Dawla Nāṣir Jang⁵ the son of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh had great regard for him and was on very friendly terms with him. When he ascended the throne of Deccan, Āzād's friends requested him not to lose the opportunity and insisted that he should demand some high post from the Nawāb. Āzād retorted that he was free from the world and its desires and so could no more be the slave of any man. The world, he added, is like the river of Tālūt⁶ (Saul) and a draught out of the hand is lawful and more than that is forbidden.

¹ Muḥammad Ḥayāt as-Sindī al-Madani died in 1163 A.H. (1749 A.D.). See *Ma'āthir al-Kirām*, p. 164.

² 'Abd al-Wahhāb at-Taṭṭāwī, died 1157 A.H. (1744 A.D.). See *Ma'āthir al-Kirām*, p. 162.

³ Ash-Shaikh ash-Shādhilī was a great Ṣūfī and died 654 A.H. (1256 A.D.). See *Nafahāt al-Uns*, p. 663.

⁴ Bābā Shāh Musāfir Naqshbandī died in 1126 A.H. (1714 A.D.). See *Ma'āthir al-Kirām*, p. 174.

⁵ For detail accounts of Nawāb Nizām ad-Dawla, see *Khizāna 'Āmira*, pp. 54-56.

⁶ It refers to the verses of the Qur'ān and the translation is as follows :—

'And then Talut departed with his soldiers, he said, Verily God will prove you by the river : for he who drinketh thereof, shall

He dedicated the last part of his life to teaching and writing books. He died in 1200 A.H.¹ (1785 A.D.) and was buried at Aurangābād, Deccan.

Āzād was an erudite scholar, well-versed in numerous branches of learning. His literary achievements won for him the celebrated appellation of *Ḥassān al-Hind*.² As a scholar and linguist he acquired a fame which few people can attain and had command over Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Urdu, and Hindi. His literary activities marked for profundity and elucidity cover a wide field ranging over Ḥadīth, literature, history, poetry and biography. The following is a list of his works :—

ARABIC WORKS.

(1) *Ḍaw' ad-Darārī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*.

It is a commentary in Arabic language on the famous work on Ḥadīth by al-Bukhārī (d. A.H. 256, A.D. 870). The commentator did not survive to complete the book and wrote up to *Kitāb az-Zakāt* of the original work. It is chiefly based on al-Qastallānī's (d. 923 A.H., 1517 A.D.) commentary called *Irshād as-Sāri*.

Subḥat al-Marjān, p. 122, Ṣiddiq Ḥasan, *Ithāf an-Nubalā'*, pp. 56, 107 and *Ḥadā'iq al-Ḥanafīya*, p. 455.

(2) *Dīwān Āzād*.

It is a collection of poems in Arabic arranged in alphabetical order.

Hyderabad Cat. (1900) No. 109, p. 14, *Rāmpūr Cat.*, vol. I, p. 586, and *Subḥat al-Marjān*, p. 122.

(3) *Mazḥar al-Barakāt*.

It is a collection of Arabic poems in the metre of *Mathnavī*. *Mathnavī*³ is a form of poetry in which each *bait* (verse) is nor-

not be on my side (but he who shall not taste thereof he shall be on my side) except he who drinketh a draught out of his hand. Sale, *Translation of the Koran*, printed by S. Hazard, 1795, p. 46.

¹ According to poet Jauhar, who, as stated in Rieu, p. 373, saw Āzād in Aurangābād, 1198 A.H., 1783 A.D., Āzād died in 1199 A.H., 1784 A.D.; but several other biographers record his death in 1200 A.H., 1785 A.D. Abdul Muqtadir, *Bankipore Cat.*, vol. III, p. 253.

² *Ḥassān al-Hind* is the title given to Āzād Bilgrāmī by his contemporary scholars in imitation of Khāqānī's (d. 595 A.H., 1198 A.D.), epithet *Ḥassān al-'Ajām*. Ḥassān bin Thābit used to recite poems before the Prophet and was the founder of the religious Islamic poetry. He was the most eminent poet of his age and the Prophet appreciated his poetry. As a result of the encouragement given to Ḥassān by the Prophet and his praise of him as a great genius, the association of the epithet 'Ḥassān' with any name, was regarded as the greatest honour which a poet can ever attain.

³ *Encyclopædia of Islām*, No. 43, p. 410.

mally a self-contained whole, grammatically complete and with two *Miṣrā's* (hemistiches) rhyming with one another and not—except accidentally—with the verses that follow. In Persian and Urdū, poetic compositions of any length dealing with epic, romantic, ethical or didactic themes are of the *Mathnavi* form. Arabic contains no poems of the *Mathnavi* genre, but poems having the two *Miṣrā's* of each *bait* rhyming together independently of the rest are known. The arrangement of the rhyme is known as *Muzdawija*. Short specimens translated from Persian are quoted in Tha'libī's *Yatimat al-Dahr* (IV, 23), and there are longer compositions, metrical grammars, by Harīrī (*Mulḥat al-I'rāb*) and by Muḥammad bin Mālik (*Kitāb al-ʿAlfiya*). Āzād introduced this into Arabic poetry and wrote seven *Mathnavīs* which he called by the above title *Maṣḥar al-Barakāt*.

Houtsma, *Cat.* No. 91, *Ithāf an-Nubalā'*, p. 331, and *Ḥadā'iq al-Ḥanafīya*, p. 455.

(4) *Mir'at al-Jamāl*.

It is an Arabic poem containing 105 verses and describing the beauties of a beloved from head to foot.

Ithāf an-Nubalā', p. 331, and *Ḥadā'iq al-Ḥanafīya*, p. 455.

(5) *Tasliyat al-Fu'ād fī Qaṣā'id Āzād*.

It is an anthology of some of his Arabic *Qaṣīdas* (eulogiums).

Ḥadā'iq al-Ḥanafīya, p. 455 and *Subḥat al-Marjān*, p. 122.

(6) *As-Sab'at as-Sayyāra*.

It is a collection of seven Arabic *Diwāns*. In these *Diwāns* there is a large number of poems in praise of the Prophet. An autograph copy of this work is preserved in the Library of Nawāb Nūr al-Ḥasan at Lucknow. The author commenced the work in 1179 A.H., 1765 A.D., and finished it in 1194 A.H., 1780 A.D. See Ḥāfiẓ Naẓīr Aḥmad, *Descriptive Notes on Libraries, Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, vol. XIII, 1917, No. 2, p. cxxxix, No. 152.

Ḥadā'iq al-Ḥanafīya, p. 455 and *Ithāf an-Nubalā'*, p. 331.

(7) *Shamāmat al-'Anbar fī mā warada fī'l Hind min Sayyid al-Bashar*.

In this work the author collected all the Sayings of the Prophet relevant to India.

Hyderabad Cat., vol. III, Nos. 853, 857, 859, p. 258.

(8) *Shifā' al-'Alīl fī Iṣtilāḥāt Kalām Abī'ṭ Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī*.

In this work the peculiar phraseologies which one comes across in the poetry of al-Mutanabbī (d. 354 A.H., 965 A.D.) have been explained. His ardour for pro-Arab feelings and his metaphors and ingenious similes are also discussed.

Ḥadā'iq al-Ḥanafīya, p. 455 and *Ithāf an-Nubalā'*, p. 331.

A copy of this work is in M. 'Alī Husain's Library, Kūchah-i-Madrasah-i-A'izzah, Hyderabad, Deccan. *Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XIII, 1917, No. 2, p. cxxiii, No. 101, where it is called *Shifā' al-'Alīl fī Iṣlāḥ Kalām al-Mutanabbī*.

(9) *Subḥat al-Marjān fī Āthār Hindūstān*.

In this book the author dwells on four different subjects. *Firstly* he mentions the Ḥadīths (Sayings of the Prophet) and commentaries of the Qur'ān that describe the superiority of India; *secondly* he gives short biographies of some of the great scholars of India; *thirdly* he dwells on the excellent and rare similes and metaphors of Hindī language which he introduced into his Arabic poetry with an excellence which elicits admiration and applause. His contemporaries sought to follow him on the same lines but met with little success; *fourthly* there is a discourse between a lover and a beloved. In this last chapter the author enumerates the different kinds of women classifying them by Hindī as well as appropriate Arabic names. It was compiled, 1177 A.H.

Ithāf an-Nubalā', p. 331 and *Ḥadā'iq al-Ḥanafīya*, p. 455.

It was lithographed in Bombay, 1303 A.H.

It was translated into Persian language by Sayyid Shams ad-Dīn Ḥasanī al-Ḥusainī Banāresī.

From the note at the end of the translation it transpires that the translator was in the service of Mahārāja Isarī Parshād (Rāja of Banāres) in 1869, at whose order the translation was made. He was a pupil of his uncle 'Abdallāh Banāresī and was buried by the side of his father Shāh Wārith 'Alī.

See Abdul Muqtadir, *Bankipore Cat.*, vol. VIII, p. 7.

PERSIAN WORKS.

(1) *Diwān-i-Āzād*.

It is an anthology of lyrical poems in Persian and the Ghazals are arranged in alphabetical order. A few *rubā'is* and *tārikhāt* are at the end.

Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, No. 1722, Sprenger, *Cat.*, p. 364 and *Bankipore Cat.*, vol. III, p. 252.

Lithographed, Hyderabad, 1301 A.H. See *Hyderabad Cat.*, vol. III, No. 830, p. 288.

(2) *Ghizlān al-Hind*.

In this work the metaphors and similes of Hindī language are explained and introduced into Persian science of metaphors ('*Ilm al-Badī'*'). There are also descriptions of different kinds of women, as classified in Hindī, for the knowledge of Persian students. It is practically a Persian version of *Subḥat al-Marjān*.

Pertsch, *Berlin Cat.*, No. 1051, p. 1001 and Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, No. 1722. Also a copy of this book is in M. 'Alī

Husain's Library, Hyderabad, Deccan. *Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, vol. XIV, 1918, No. 8, p. cccliii, No. 310.

(3) *Khizāna-i-Āmira*.

It is a well-known and valuable *tadhkira* or memoirs of ancient and modern Persian poets. The author wrote this work in Persian in compliance with the wishes of his brother's son Mir Aulād Muḥammad, who requested him, 1176 A.H. (1762 A.D.), to compile the lives of those poets who had amassed wealth by praising the great men. To this Āzād assented with a view to giving a distinctive character to this *tadhkira*, although, he adds, he never had stooped to lauding any one for the sake of money. It is alphabetically arranged and contains the biographies of 135 poets (see for these names, Ethé, *Bodl. Cat.*, No. 381, pp. 256-260).

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. IX, pp. 150-153; Rieu, *Persian Cat.*, p. 373, where a full list of Āzād's authorities is given; Elliot, *History of India*, vol. VIII, p. 188, Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, No. 685; Ivanow, *Cat.*, *Asiatic Society of Bengal* No. 232; Sprenger, *Oudh Cat.*, p. 143, and Abdul Muqtadir, *Bankipore Cat.*, vol. VIII, p. 127.

Lithographed, Cawnpore, 1900 A.D.

(4) *Ma'āthir al-Kirām Tārīkh Bilgrām*.

It is the *first volume* of the great biographical work on the famous men of Bilgrām and other eminent persons who were in some way or other connected with it. It is divided into two *fasls* (parts), the first dealing with pious men, the second with learned men. There are eighty biographies in the former, and seventy-three in the latter. The author mentions himself in both the parts. It was completed in 1166 A.H., 1753 A.D.

Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, No. 682; Rieu, *Persian Cat.*, vol. III, p. 971; Pertsch, *Berlin Cat.*, pp. 566-569, and Abdul Muqtadir, *Bankipore Cat.*, vol. VIII, p. 166.

Lithographed, Agra, 1910.

Ghulām Ḥasan Šiddiqī Farshūrī Bilgrāmī (*Circa* 1178 A.H., 1765 A.D.) has written a criticism of this work under the title *Sharā'if 'Uṭhmānī*. Apparently some personal feeling constituted the chief reason for this work. Ivanow, *Cat.*, *Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. I, No. 277, p. 116.

(5) *Ma'āthir al-Umarā'*.

It is a well-known biographical dictionary of the *wazīrs*, high officials and noblemen, who were associated with the dynasty of the Indian Timurides. The work was written by Šamsām ad-Dawla Shāh Nawāz Khan Khwāfi Aurangābādī whose real name was Mīr 'Abd ar-Razzāq (d. 1171 A.H., 1758 A.D.). These original sketches were arranged and finally compiled by

our author who added an introduction and a biography of Shāh Nawāz Khan. Full accounts of the work will be found in Morley's *Cat.*, p. 101 and Elliot's *History*, vol. VIII, pp. 187-191.

Rieu, *Br. Mus. Cat.*, vol. I, p. 339; Ethé, *Bodl. Cat.*, No. 166; Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, No. 622; Blochet, *Cat. Bib. Nationale*, vol. I, No. 639 and Ivanow, *Cat.*, *Asiatic Society of Bengal*, p. 69.

It was published in the *Bibliotheca Indica Series*, 1887-1895, and translated into English by H. Beveridge (the same series, 1911, and onward in progress).

(6) *Rawḍat al-Awliyā'.*

It is a short compendium on the great saints of India, specially of the Dakhan. The first biography is that of Shaikh Burhān ad-Dīn Muḥammad bin Maḥmūd bin Nāṣir, commonly called al-Gharīb al-Hānsawī.

Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, No. 655.

Lithographed, A.H. 1310, *Hyderabad Cat.* (1900), No. 74, p. 10.

(7) *Sand as-Sa'ādāt fī Husn Khātimat as-Sādāt.*

In this treatise the author has proved from the Sayings of the Prophet and other eminent scholars that the end of the descendants of the Prophet is bound to be good and their entrance into Paradise is sure. This was also the view of some of the eminent authors who preceded him. Muḥī ad-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 638 A.H., 1240 A.D.) in his famous work *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiya*, chapter 29, stated that all the descendants of Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet, have received 'glad tidings' and their entrance into Paradise has been foretold. Ibn Hajar al-Haitamī (d. 973 A.H., 1565 A.D.) in *as-Sawā'iq al-Muḥriqa* and al-Qāḍī Shihāb ad-Dīn Dawlatābādī (d. 849 A.H., 1445 A.D.) in *Manāqib as-Sādāt* have also expressed the same view.

Ma'āthir al-Kirām, p. 59; Rieu *Cat.* vol. III, p. 978a, and *Hadā'iq*, p. 455.

(8) *Sarv-i-Āzād.*

It is the *second volume* of the biographical work on the famous poets of Bilgrām and other parts of India who lived after 1000 A.H.. In the preface the author says that after having completed in 1148 A.H. (1735 A.D.), his general *tadhkira* of Persian poets styled *Yad Baiḍā*, he resolved upon writing a work on the literary men of his native town, which he divided into two volumes; the first he styled *Ma'āthir al-Kirām* and the second *Sarv-i-Āzād*.

It is divided like the first volume into two *faṣls* (parts), the first comprising 143 biographies of Persian poets, the second

eight biographies of Hindi poets. It was composed in 1166 A.H., 1752 A.D.

Ethé, *India Office Cat.*, No. 683; Ivanow, *Asiatic Society Cat.* (Curzon Collection), p. 63; *Ibid.*, *First Supp.*, p. 7; Sprenger, *Cat.* p. 143; Abdul Muqtadir, *Bankipore Cat.*, vol. VIII, p. 123, and *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. IX, p. 170.

An autograph copy of the work is in Ḥakīm 'Abd al-Ḥayy's Library, Aminābād, Lucknow. Ḥāfiẓ Naẓir Aḥmad, *Descriptive Notes on Libraries, Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, vol. XIV, 1918, No. 8, p. cclviii, No. 86.

Lithographed, 1913. See *Hyderabad Cat.*, vol. III, p. 164.

Muḥammad Ṣādiq bin Muḥammad Aḥsanallāh Bilgrāmī sur-named 'Sukhanwar' has written a criticism of this work under the title *Tahqīq as-Sadād fī Maḍhallat al-Āzād*. It is not the historical trustworthiness of the work which is attacked, but the style and the poetry of Āzād are subjected to criticism. Muḥammad Ṣādiq was greatly displeased on finding in this book of Āzād only a brief note on himself with a quotation of a few of his verses. In revenge he pours the worst invective upon Āzād without any sense of measure or prospective. Composed soon after 1167 A.H., 1753 A.D. 'Abd al-Qādir Samarqandī Dihlawī, a partisan of Āzād, wrote a reply under the title *Ta'dīb az-Zindīq fī Takdhīb as-Siddiq* to the above-mentioned abusive criticism of Muḥammad Ṣādiq. The tone of the reply is more sober and reasonable and the author tries to prove the falsity of the accusations. Composed apparently shortly after the preceding work. Ivanow, *Cat. Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. I, Nos. 397 and 398, p. 172.

(9) *Yad-i-Baiḍā*.

A biographical work of ancient and modern Persian poets, arranged in alphabetical order.

The author gives a detailed account of his life at the end of this work. He tells us that, during his four years' stay in Siwistān, he devoted most of his time to the study of historical and poetical works. He made selections from the poetical works of ancient and modern poets, and compiled a *Tadhkira* in 1145 A.H., 1732 A.D., entitling it *Yad-i-Baiḍā*. This work received a wide circulation. Subsequently, when he came to Ilāhābād, he obtained fresh materials for the work, and prepared an improved addition in 1148 A.H., 1735 A.D. The author proceeds to say that, two years later, he went on a pilgrimage to the holy places of Mecca and Madīna; and on his way back, while he was staying at Aurangābād, he received a letter on the 4th Ramaḍān, 1153 A.H., 1740 A.D., from Mir Muḥammad Yūsuf of Bilgrām, stating that during his absence from India a certain inhabitant of Banāres (name not given), after removing the author's name from the *Tadhkira*, had circulated it as his own, and had distributed copies of it in several places. The author remarks

that anecdotes and sayings in the work, derived from rare compositions, had been boldly appropriated as his own by this 'Banāresī thief', as if the latter had written the *Tadhkira* after collecting the facts for himself. 'But', he adds, 'his blind eyes could never obtain a view of those rare compositions'.

The author adds that, after his return from pilgrimage, he collected some more materials, which he sent to some of his esteemed friends for insertion in the *Tadhkira*.

The preface ends with a short history of the origin of Persian poetry.

According to Sprenger, *Oudh Catalogue*, p. 142, the work contains 532 biographies. The first poet mentioned here is Afḍal ad Din Muḥammad Kāshānī, and the last, Mir Muḥammad Yūsuf bin Mir Muḥammad Ashraf.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. IX, p. 170; Abdul Muḥtadir, *Bankipore Cat.*, vol. VIII, p. 115, where it is stated that pp. 160-222 are in the handwriting of the author; and *Hyderabad Cat.*, vol. III (A.H. 1347), Nos. 155, 186, p. 162, where it is also called *Tadhkira Subh Khandān*. Another copy of this work comprising 225 folios is preserved in the collection of the descendants of Sayyid as-Sādāt Burhān ad-Dīn of Samdan, a village in U.P. The MS. is valuable as it was copied at the instance of Āzād's father, Sayyid Nūḥ al-Ḥusainī, and is in the handwriting of Āzād and his two brothers Ghulām Ḥasan and Ghulām Imām Šādiq.

Muslim Review, Calcutta, vol. I, No. 2, 1926, pp. 35 and 36.

N. Bland in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. IX, p. 153 wrongly places *Nāz wa Niyāz* (a love-tale of Prince Niyāz and Princess Nāz, a Sufistic allegory in Persian Mathnavī rhyme) in the list of the compositions of Āzād Bilgrāmī. From the preface of the said work it appears that the writer was for a short time in attendance on Muḥammad A'zam Shāh, died in 1119 A.H., 1707 A.D., and that the latter was a patron of the poet. As Āzād Bilgrāmī was born in 1116 A.H., 1704 A.D., it is clear that the said work was not compiled by him.

The real author of *Nāz wa Niyāz* is Mirzā Anjuman 'Āzād', son of the Kashmirian poet 'Abd al-Ghanī Beg 'Qabūl' (died in 1139 A.H. 1726 A.D.). He has also written *Dilkushā Nāma*, the history of Muḥtār, the avenger of Imām Husain bin 'Alī, a Shī'a legend, in Mathnavī rhyme, and has completed the unfinished work of Mirzā Muḥammad Rafī 'Bādhi's' (died 1123 or 1124 A.H.) *Hamla-i-Haidarī*.

Rieu, *Cat.* vols. II, pp. 704, 712, 719, and III, p. 1091.

URDŪ WORK.

Billī Nāma.

It is a very interesting story of a cat who spent her life in feasting on rats and then went on pilgrimage to atone for her

sins though she would not mend her ways. The story serves as an advice to men to be on guard against deceiving people who are by nature wicked. The characters chosen for it are animals as in the case of the books of the same *genre*, *Katīla wa Dimna*, etc. It is one of the best pieces of Urdū literature dating from 150 years back.

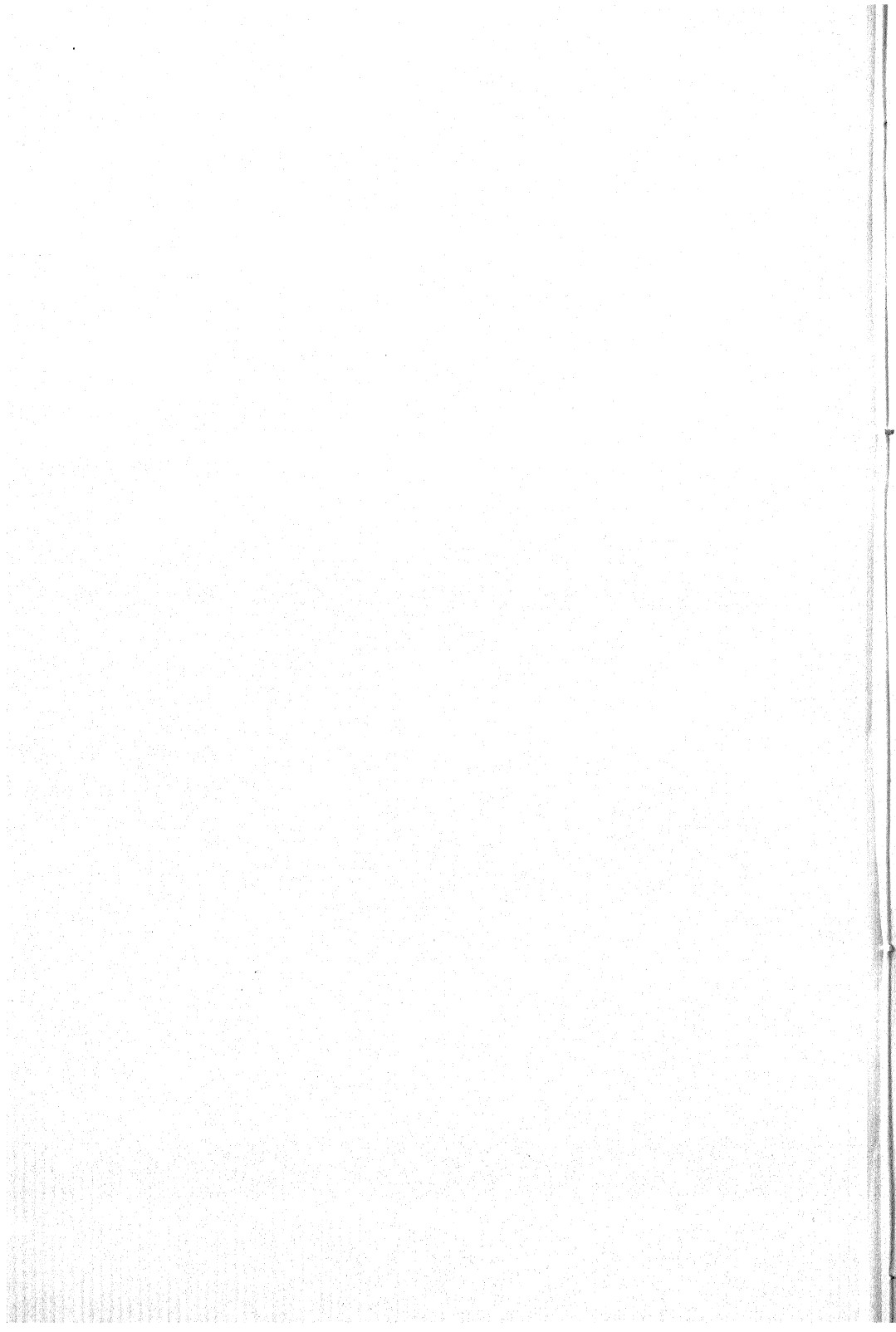
Lithographed on the margin of *Chūhai Nāma* (the Book of Rat) by the poet Iram, in Nawal Kishore Press, Cawnpore, A.D. 1871; and also by Khidr Bānū Šāhiba Khairī in 'Ālamgīr (Yearly Number), 1935, pp. 129-134.

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2. *Subhat al-Marjān* (autobiography), pp. 118-123.
3. *Khizāna 'Amira* (autobiography), pp. 123-126.
4. *Ithāf an-Nubalā'* by Šiddiq Hasan, p. 330.
5. *Ḥadā'iq al-Ḥanafīya* by Faqīr Muḥammad, p. 454.
6. Khidr Bānū Šāhiba Khairī, 'Ālamgīr, Lahore, 1935, pp. 170-72.
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8. Pertsch, *Cat. Pers. Handschriften Kön. Bibl.*, Berlin, Nos. 603, 1051.
9. Ethé, *Cat. Pers. MSS. India Office Library*, Nos. 622, 655, 682-685, 1722.
10. Houtsma, *Cat. L'une Collection de MSS. Arab. et Turcs.*, No. 91.
11. Blochet, *Cat. Paris*, vol. II, p. 326.
12. *Muslim Review*, Calcutta, vol. I, No. 2, 1926, pp. 25-36.
13. *Gul-i-Ra'na*, foll. 3b-21b.

Numismatic Supplement for 1935-36

[*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters*]



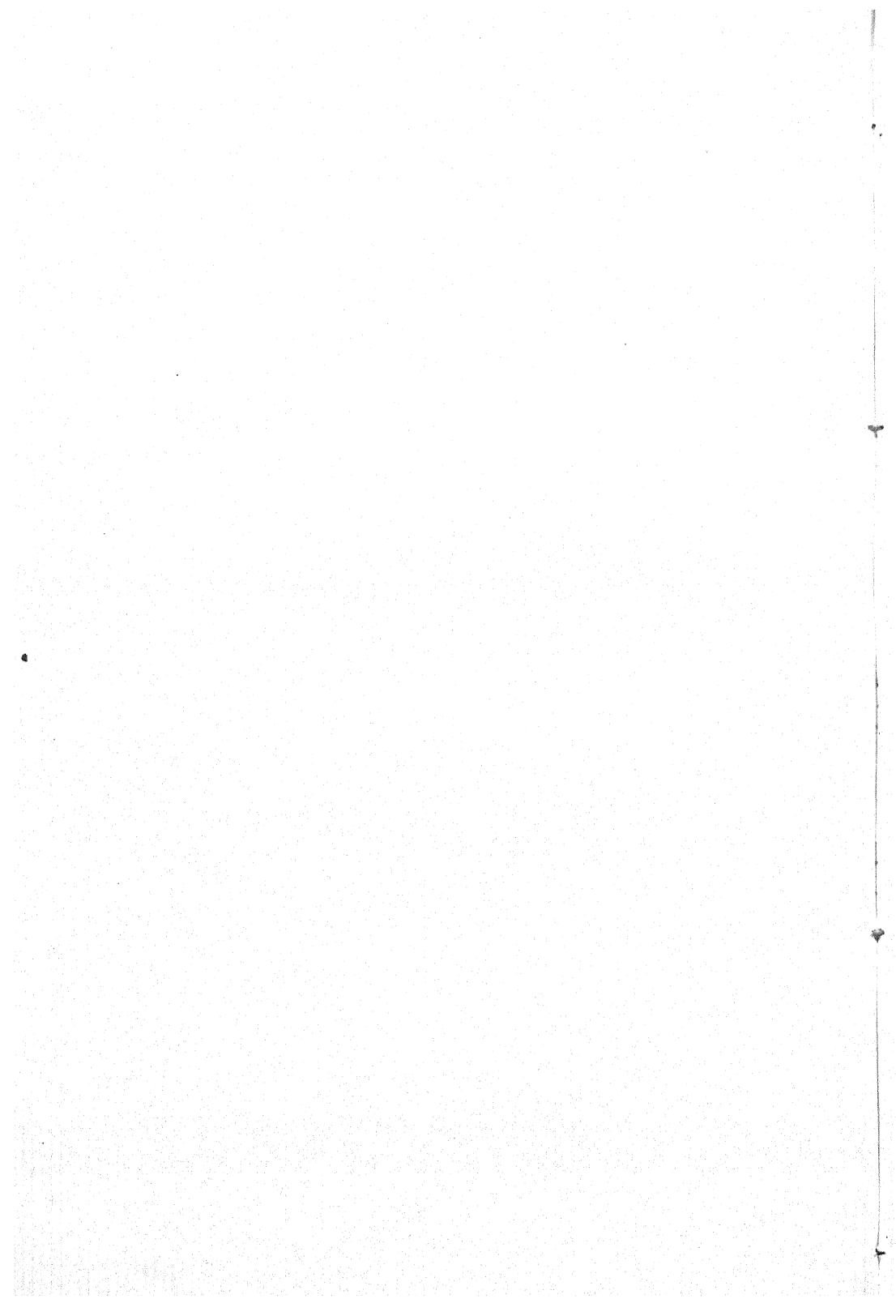
Numismatic Supplement No. XLVI

[for 1935-36]

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NUMISMATIC SUPPLEMENT No. XLVI

ARTICLES 328-340

*Continued from 'Journal and Proceedings', Vol. XXX,
New Series, No. 3.*

328. SOME COINS OF THE NAPIK MALKA CLASS RESTRUCK BY SHAHI-TIGIN.

Coins of Shahi-tigin are well-known both for their extraordinary trilingual legends and for their unusual design. Among the more readily available illustrations I would cite Cunningham, 'Coins of the Later Indo-Scythians', Pl. X, No. 9, and Vincent Smith, 'Indian Museum Catalogue, Vol. I, Pl. XXV, 1. The obverse portrait is a three-quarter face,—an unusual representation, and the reverse design is a bust of a male deity, possibly the sun-god, to front with flames springing from behind the head and rising to a point.

The findspots of the Shahi-tigin Coins have been carefully recorded by Cunningham (in *Num. Chron.*, 1893, page 268) as follows :—

'Two specimens were obtained by Ventura in the Manikyala Stupa. Dr. Lord got forty to the north of the Caucasus (i.e. Hindukush). I have received some twenty or thirty from Kabul, and I am aware that a few have been found in Sindh and Kacch.'

The latter, presumably, are strays—perhaps brought down through Kandahar, Quetta and Shikarpur, the well-known Sindh entrepot for Central Asian trade—and the seat of Shahi-tigin's power should, therefore, be searched for in Northern Afghanistan and not in Multan as erroneously supposed by Cunningham. Dr. Heinrich Junker has made a recent study of the coin legends on these and similar coins, in 'Die Hephthalitischen Münzschriften' (Berlin, 1931), and has found an interesting series of place-names. Those on the coins showing the sun-god are specially important :—

Dāwar (Zamindāwar) on Cunn. X, 9 and 10

Rōšnān (?Rudbar on Helmand) on X, 9 and 11

Zābulistān on X, 9 and 10

Farzān (?Idrisi Firoz and on Helmand) on X, 10

and Sakāwand (between Ghazni and Kābul) on X, 11.

This is sufficient indication for the geographical position of the shrine of the sun-god but the findspots of the coins of Shahi-

tigīn suggest a more Northerly position for the centre of his power.

The coins showing this full-face bust of the sun-god can be dated with great accuracy, as two of these issues were struck by Khusrāu II of Persia and dated in years 26 and 37 of his reign, corresponding to 616 and 627 A.D.

We have fortunately an invaluable document describing Afghanistan at this period in the *Life and Travels of Yuan Chwang*, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim whose travels lasted from 629 to 645 A.D. and who passed twice through Afghanistan. Reference to his writings makes it fairly certain that Shahi-tigīn was the King of Kapisi, an area north-east of Kabul, and that the sun-god was 'Shuna' or 'Ch'una' whose shrine was on a mountain in the south of the Tsao-ku-ta country, roughly in the neighbourhood of Zamindāwar and Kandahar.

Watters, in his edition of *Yuan Chwang*, states :—

‘ Our pilgrim reports this god as being held in great awe, as having rich offerings presented to him and prayers made to him, not only by the inhabitants of Tsao-kuta, but also by votaries of all classes from other countries.’

The great diversity of style and script on coins bearing this bust indicate that the deity portrayed was of more than local or provincial importance, and, as Cunningham's suggestion that it was the sun-god of Multan has been discredited, I have no hesitation in putting forward this alternative proposal. He was, apparently, a Turkish god whose cult was imported from Central Asia by the Western Turks who ruled in various portions of Afghanistan from 567 A.D. to 658 A.D. when they were absorbed in the Chinese Empire. Watters states that Shuna was a sun-god and the bust on the coins is unmistakably that of a solar diety. Yuan Chwang tells us a curious story of how, when this god was travelling from Central Asia to Tsao-ku-ta, he wished to halt in the kingdom of Kapisi, but, the guardian spirit of Mount Aruna proved inhospitable and was punished by having to do annual obeisance to Shuna in his new home (see Watters, pp. 126-7).

We, therefore, find in this legend a direct connection between Shuna and the kingdom of Kapisi, which, considered in conjunction with the coin findspots, make it probable that Shahi-tigīn was ruler of Kapisi.

This probability is strengthened by the fact that General Ventura obtained two of these coins from the relic chamber of Manikyāla stupa near Rawalpindi. The king of Kapisi at the time of Yuan Chwang's travels was a great conqueror, but had recently lost Taxila to the Kingdom of Kashmir. The coins must have been deposited at Manikyāla before this change of rule.

Further statements by Yuan Chwang show that this king was ruling over the following areas at the time of his visit :—

- (1) Kapisi—which according to Watters and Cunningham must have then included the whole of Kafirstan as well as the two large valleys of Ghorband and Panjshir.
- (2) Nagar—the district round Jalālabad.
- (3) Gandhāra—west of the Indus, corresponding to Peshawar Dist.
- (4) Varna—which Sir Aurel Stein has proved to be Bannu Dist., as previously conjectured by Cunningham.
- (5) It appears from Yuan Chwang's 'Life' that Tsau-kuta may also have been included in his empire, but this is by no means certain.

Having fixed Shahi-tigīn both in time and place I am now able to publish three countermarked coins which have not been previously ascribed to him.

These coins were struck, prior to the period of their counter-marking, by one of Napki Malik's later successors who probably lived in the Kabul area, or perhaps further north as, prior to the invasions of the Western Turks, the Greek Kushan script which is found on these coins appears to have been almost totally confined to the countries north of the Hindukush.

The legend on these coins has been read by both Herzfeld and Junker as 'Sri Shahi'. Turning now to the countermarks, two of my coins have a countermark containing two Brahmi characters and are, therefore, duplicates of Cunningham, 'Later Indo-Scythians', plate IX, 19. Cunningham read these as 'Tiri', but a closer study shows them to be 'Tigi'. I am indebted to this discovery to Mr. Majumdar, who at once agreed with my suggestion that this was short for 'Tigīn', a common title for a chieftain among the Turks. Cunningham mentions having 'three similar coins with an insect as countermark' and these two show this as an additional mark. My third has it as a sole countermark. On a close study, however, I cannot agree with Cunningham in calling it an insect. It is a facing bust of the sun-god Shuna !

We have now two clues pointing to the Turkish origin of these countermarks—the bust of Shuna and the title Tigīn. Further, the use of Greek-Kushan legend on the coins before this being countermarked points to the neighbourhood of Kapisi as their provenance. We should, therefore, compare the coins with those of Shahi-tigīn, the Turkish ruler of Kapisi. Both have the Greek-Kushan legend 'Sri Shahi' in front of the face on the obverse (perhaps Shahi-tigīn copied this from the late Napki-Malka coins), both have the bust of the sun-god, and

while one class has 'Shahi-tigīn' in the long Brahmi legend, the other contains 'Tigīn' as a countermark.

Finally, and for this finishing touch to the argument I am indebted to Mr. Dikshit, two minute Brahmi letters, which appear in the same oval countermark as the bust of the sun-god, can only be read as 'Shahi'. This, with the 'Tigīn' countermark completes the name 'Shahi-tigīn' on the countermarked coins.

Baladhuri tells us a curious story in his description of the campaign of A.H. 33 (=653 A.D.), in which Ibn-Samurah, governor of Sijistan, over-ran Zamindāwar :—

'When he got as far as the provinces of ad-Dawar he surrounded the enemy in the mountain of Az-Zur. They soon surrendered to him Ibn-Samurah went into the temple of the Zur, an idol of gold with two rubies for eyes, and cut off the hand and took out the rubies. Then he said to the Satrap, "Keep the gold and the gems. I only wanted to show you that it had no power to harm or help."'

It appears that this idol is the Shuna of Yuan Chwang and the sun-god of our coins. Shuna lived on a mountain in the south of the Tsao-ku-ta country (which included the Helmand Valley and the country from Ghazni to Kandahār). The idol mutilated by Ibn-Samurah, was on a mountain in the neighbourhood of Zamindāwar, and the rubies and gold of the idol indicate by their brightness that his may have been a solar cult.

Though the Western Turks first appeared on the Iranian borderlands between 563 and 567 A.D. they did not advance to Herāt till 588 A.D. and a general of Khusrau II was able to force his way as far as Balkh as late as 597 A.D. It appears therefore that they did not establish themselves round Kābul, Ghazni and Kandahār; and there is nothing improbable in the theory that Shahi-tigīn was among the first to rule in this area and that it was he who imported the god Shuna and established him in Zamindāwar.

M. F. C. MARTIN.

329. THE COINS OF RAJGIR.

In this paper my object is to illustrate some cast and single-die copper coins originally hailing from Rajgir, and now in two private collections. Mr. Prithwi Singh Nahar the well-known coin collector of Calcutta owns Nos. 2, 4, 5, 6, 9 and 11 while the rest belong to me. I am grateful to Mr. Nahar for placing his coins at my disposal. Cast coins of the type of No. 1 have long been known and were first described by Cunningham. They are also found at other sites, but as they are found in particularly large numbers at Rajgir I thought it best to include them under 'THE COINS OF RAJGIR'. Early cast and die-struck coins were widely prevalent throughout North India and had many features in common. The so-called Taxilā and Ujjain symbols were not confined to coins originating from these cities, but were well recognized symbols throughout India.

In spite of the existence of this community of symbols, each provincial currency in ancient India had its own characteristics and local peculiarities noticeable in the fabric of the coins, as also in the grouping of the symbols. The symbols play a very important role in the assignment and interpretation of Ancient Indian Coins, including punchmarked as well as cast and die-struck coins. These symbols have from the very beginning exercised eminent numismatists such as Cunningham, Theobold, Rapson, and V. A. Smith, who have arrived at different conclusions as to their interpretations. Here I wish to add a few remarks about the so-called 'sq. cross' and the 'triangular-headed' symbol.

The square cross is almost invariably present in all the cast coins from Rajgir and has been explained by Theobold as 'a variant of Swastikā'. Apart from its very close association with the coins of Rajgir, the symbol appears along with a three-arched *chaitya* in a coin from Taxilā.¹ In a two-*pana* piece from Taxilā it occupies the whole of the reverse.² Outside India a symbol similar to this has been found in an ancient tomb at Mycenæ.³ It is very difficult to say what this symbol stands for. Theobold's Nos. 225 and 269 appear to have a very close connection.⁴ Theobold would interpret No. 225 as a cross having within it a 'śaivite lotus'. The symbol within the cross appears to be a lotus but the compound symbol can be very appropriately explained as a tank or step well with four approaches and a lotus within.

¹ C.A.I. Pl. II, 16.

³ J.A.S.B., 1890, p. 260.

² C.A.I. Pl. II, 15.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Pl. XI.

The so-called 'triangular-headed' symbol is yet another mystery. According to Theobald, in whose article it is numbered 119, it is 'a raised receptacle of food for birds'. This symbol occurs singly on punchmarked, cast and die-struck coins. Sometimes it is also represented in a railing.¹ The antiquity of this symbol is proved from the fact that a gold leaf representation of it has been found among other relics from the famous Piprahwa vase.² It also appears to be a Jaina symbol, appearing in an Āyagapata of the 1st century A.D. from Mathurā.³ A marked similarity exists between this symbol and another which appears on some coins of a king Suyamita of the so-called Pāñcāl a Mitra Dynasty, where a rayed sun surmounts this symbol making it as its stand.⁴ That these two symbols represent one common object and serve a common purpose by holding a swastikā over them, is proved by the substitution of one for the other in some of the copper coins of the Kuṇindas. In the light of this evidence it will not be inadequate to interpret it as an altar. Curiously enough, while describing the coins of Suyamita, Rivett Carnac termed it to be a 'triangular-shaped altar'.⁵

A group of common symbols arranged in a particular order distinguish the cast coins from Rajgir. Generally the common symbols are, a tree in railing,⁶ a three arched chaitya with a crescent, a square cross, a swastikā, a taurine, a triangular-headed symbol and an elephant. One or two of the above mentioned symbols are sometimes replaced by others and sometimes also the arrangement is different. The chief feature of these coins is the presence of an animal on one side and a tree in railing on the other (Pl. No. 1). The animal is generally an elephant, but a bull or a lion also occurs in rare instances. In some coins of this series (e.g. No. 2) animals, different or identical appear on both the sides.

No. 3 is another interesting coin widely differing from the ordinary type of cast coins from Rajgir. It has on one side a railing, enclosing a tree, with prongshaped branches in two tiers, depicted just opposite to the manner in which they are found on the coins of the Kuṇindas. The tree here may be compared with that on some coins of the Saka satraps of Mathurā.⁷ There is to the left of the tree, a wheel on a stand made up of two inclined spokes and an arc. Similar wheels on stands are

¹ J.R.A.S., 1900, p. 101.

² J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 596.

³ Coomaraswamy—History of Indian and Indonesian Art, Pl. XIX,

71.

⁴ J.A.S.B., 1880, p. 89, Pl. IX, 24.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Two distinct varieties of tree are found, one with three branches and another having more than three branches with foliage.

⁷ C.A.I., Pl. VIII, Nos. 16, 17.

to be found in the famous reliefs of Bhārhut and Mathurā.¹ The wheel has a very close resemblance with similar wheels in a coin from Kosām² and in the only known coin of the Kulutas.³ To the right of the tree, appear traces of another indistinct symbol. On the reverse occurs the 'Ujjain symbol' and an elephant standing to left with its trunk and tusk so clearly visible. The elephant here is much superior in execution to the representation of the animal elsewhere on the cast coins. As regards the so-called 'Ujjain symbol' Rapson agreed with Cunningham that this symbol occurs 'on nearly all the coins of ancient Mālwa, wherever found—at Eran, Besnagar and Ujjain' and preferred to term it 'Mālava symbol'.⁴ But this symbol also appears on several ancient Indian coins from places far beyond the limits of ancient Mālava, as for example on several coins of the Hindu satraps of Mathurā,⁵ on coins of Kosām, and on the present coin from Rajgir.

The rectangular single-die coins from Rajgir which are comparatively rare conform to some definite types rather than exhibit a number of symbols regularly arranged as on the cast coins. Their style of execution is superior to that of the cast coins (cf. Nos. 4, 5 and 10).

No. 4 is a beautiful coin showing an ornamental border made up of fine leaves and a shallow incuse, two seated figures within. The one to the right (apparently a monkey) with its tail coiled up at the back extends the right hand to receive some object from the other figure to its left, which is apparently seated on a semi-circular stool with the legs hanging down. There are distinct traces of a head dress which may indicate the superiority of the figure to the left. The object which is being delivered closely resembles a lotus with a long stalk. The significance of the whole of this unique scene is unknown but it may be some well-known story from the Rāmāyana.

Another beautiful and unique coin is No. 5. Within an ornamental border made up of fine leaves and in a shallow incuse stands a symbol composed of four crescents round a central boss. A variant of this symbol is found in the famous reliefs of Bhārhut and another is the so-called 'Taxilā symbol'. Mr. V. A. Smith would describe it as 'solar symbol composed of crescents applied to a central boss'.⁶ This symbol is numbered 161 in Theobold's article⁷ where it has been described as 'four taurines united together in cuniform fashion'.

No. 6 has a border of ten taurines arranged along the edges with a single sickle-shaped symbol within, the significance of which is unknown.

¹ Coomaraswamy—History of Indian and Indonesian Art, Pl. XIX, 71.

² I.M.C., Pl. XX, 5.

³ J.R.A.S., 1900, p. 108.

⁴ I.M.C., p. 157n.

⁵ C.A.I., Pl. IV, 14.

⁶ I.H.Q., Vol. X, No. 4, p. 725.

⁷ J.A.S.B., 1890, Pl. X.

The next interesting group Nos. 7 and 8 show a three arched chaitya with a crescent and a taurine by the side. These symbols appear to have been struck on a blank field by means of a single-die containing both the symbols. The chief point of interest in respect of these coins are in the unusual way in which the symbols have been depicted.

No. 9 shows a beautiful representation of the *pīpal* (*bodhi*) tree within a latticed railing on the upper edge of which are seen a bud (?) and *chaatra*. On either side of the tree is a *crux ansata* and an inverted taurine.

No. 10 shows scales hanging from a taurine by means of a cord and a vertical bar standing to the left. The whole device is within a shallow incuse and has an ornamental border.

No. 11 is exactly similar but thinner and the vertical bar stands to the right instead of left of the scales. The association of the bar with the scale may perhaps be taken to represent a sceptre, but the scales as symbolising royal justice are not met with in ancient India. Mr. Jayaswal would like to explain the bar as Brāhmi 'ra'.¹

Most of the Rajgir coins do not conform to the indigenous weight system of India, unlike the single die coins from Taxilā which nearly always conform to that system. Finding that the Taxilā coins constantly maintain a weight of 140-144 grains Cunningham designated them as *panas*. Only three of the Rajgir coins agree to the indigenous standard in weight; viz. Nos. 1, 7 and 9 weighing respectively 68.8 grains, 34.5 grains and 14.6 grains. They may therefore be called *ardhapana*, *Kākinī*, and *ardha-Kākinī* respectively.

As regards the age, the cast coins of India may be assigned to the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. and 1st century A.D. Some of them have been found from the lowest stratum in course of excavation on the site of the New Rajagriha along with some stone fragments containing Brāhmi inscriptions assignable to the pre-Christian epoch.² According to Cunningham native copper coins were contemporary with the similar shaped copper coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles.³ He has been corroborated by the discovery at Taxilā of a hoard of copper coins which contained 9 pieces of Pantaleon, 15 of Agathokles, 84 single-die pieces, and 27 double-die coins,⁴ which prove that these single-die and double-die coins were together in circulation along with the coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles. That these single-die coins are older than the double-die issues is proved by the fact that they conform to the indigenous weight system of India whereas the weights of the double-die coins are influenced by the Greek standard. If Pantaleon and Agathokles were ruling in Gāndhāra

¹ J.B.O.R.S., June, 1936.

² A.S.I.A.R., Vol. V—Explorations at Rajgir.

³ C.A.I., p. 53.

⁴ A.S.I.A.R., Vol. XIV.

in cir. 200 B.C., the single-die coins must have been current considerably before that time. It is not improbable, that they were in circulation along with the silver punchmarked coins, a view which is supported by Cunningham, when he says, 'from the scarcity of copper punchmarked coins, I am led to believe that they (the cast) must have been current together with silver coins.¹ The cast coins must have been driven out of circulation when they were replaced by the large number of Kushan copper coins during the 2nd century A.D.

S. SINGH ROY.

¹ C.A.I., pp. 59-60.



1



2



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7



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8



THE COINS OF RAJGIR.

330. TWO NEW ANDHRA COINS.

The two coins described in this note were obtained from a shroff at Karad in Satara district, and are said to have been recovered from the bed of the Krishna at Karad, where people usually search for coins and ornaments after the annual floods have receded. The provenance of the coins being Karad, they may be taken to have been current in Satara district.

(1) Coin of Mūla Sa(dakani).



Obv.



Rev.

Metal, lead; size roughly circular, '8" ; weight 142.7 gr.

Obv. Maned lion to the l. ; circular legend with considerable space between the consecutive letters, *Mula Sa (dakni)sa*. It commences near the front feet of the lion.

Rev. Above to the r. tree in railing ; to the l. *Chaitya* with two small arches, surmounted by a larger arch, each having a dot within. Below : Wavy line (signifying a river ?) between straight lines.

From the metal and type it is clear that the coin belongs to some ruler (or feudatory) of the Āndhra dynasty. Its precise attribution is however difficult. The legend is fragmentary and the type does not agree entirely with any one known so far.

The obverse type, lion to the right, is so far known to appear on the Āndhradeśa variety of the Sātavāhana coins (see Rapson, *A catalogue of Indian coins, Andhras, etc.*, pp. lxxviii-lxxix) ; these, however, have no *Chaitya* and tree in railing on the reverse. The reverse of the present coin bears some affinity with the lead Āndhra coins found at Kolhapur, on which we have a *Chaitya* and a tree in railing standing side by side, with this difference that the *Chaitya* has only four tiers instead of two, as in the Karad specimen.

Other analogous coins are the issues of Chuṭukaḷānanda and Muḷānanda found in North Canara district (Rapson, *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60, Pl. VIII, G.P. 2 to G.P. 4) on which the arched *Chaitya* and the tree in railing are found, but on different sides and not on the same as on the present coin.

The closest resemblance to the present coin is found on the issues of Sadakana Kaḷalāya Mahārathi from Chitaldurg district (*ibid.*, pp. 57-8 and pl. VIII, Nos. 233-4). In both cases the reverse side has a *Chaitya* and tree in railing side by side, the former consisting of two small arches surmounted by a bigger one. But on the coins of Sadakana Kaḷalāya there is a crescent on the *Chaitya* and there is no common platform for the *Chaitya* and the tree. On the obverse of the coins of Kaḷalāya Sadakana there is a bull (instead of a lion) but the style of the circular legend around the animal is identical.

To judge from the spacing of the preserved letters on our coin, its legend could have consisted only of seven or eight letters. The extant letters are *Mula Sa . . . sa*. After the first *sa* there is a remnant of *da*. I would therefore complete the legend by inserting *dakaṇi*, the whole legend thus reading *Mula Sa(dakaṇi)sa*, '(The coin) of Mula Sadakaṇi'.

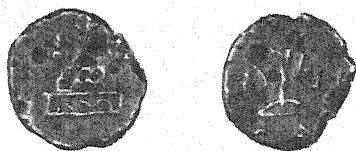
It is difficult to identify this Mula Sadakaṇi with any known ruler or feudatory of the Āndhra dynasty. The name of the third ruler of the Āndhra dynasty is spelt as Mallakaṇi in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, while all other Purāṇas spell it as Śātakarṇi. If the medial *u* mark of *Mu* were not clear, it would have been possible to attribute our present coin to the third ruler of the Āndhra dynasty and the palæography of the coin would have been in favour of this view. It is also proved that Mahārāshtra had passed into the hands of the Āndhras earlier than the time of this king, and a coin of his could well be found in Satara district. But the medial *u* mark of *Mu* is quite clear on the coin, and the majority of Purāṇas spell the name of the third king as Śātakarṇi, and not as Mallakaṇi. We cannot therefore support this identification.

The next alternative is to identify Mula Sadakaṇi of this coin with Muḷānanda of the Chutu family (Rapson, *ibid.*, p. 60, pl. VIII, 236 and G.P. 4). The names of the rulers of the Chuṭu family, however, ended in Ānanda and it is absolutely clear from the extant portion of the legend on the present coin that king Mula did not add that affix to his name. The second letter on the present coin is spelt as *la* and not as *ḷa* as on the coins of Muḷānanda. The palæography of the present coin indicates that it belongs to an earlier period and the resemblance between their types too is not very close as shown already.

The closest resemblance of the present coin is, as shown above, with the coins of Sadakana Kaḷalāya Mahārathi found in Chitaldurg district. Rapson has suggested with some hesitation that

Kaḷalāya Sadakana of the coins was probably the father of Queen Nayanikā, wife of Sātakarṇi I (*ibid.*, p. lxxxiii). The close resemblance in type suggests that Mula Sadakana of the present coin very probably belonged to the same family. Paleography shows that Mula could not have come much later than Kaḷalāya. Probably he was a son of the former. The coins of Queen Nayanikā's father have so far been found only in Chitaldurg district. That the present coin should have been found in Satara district, about 350 miles north of Chitaldurg, does not go against the proposed identification as coins travel long distances with their owners. We know further from the larger Nānāghāt inscription that when Sātakarṇi I died, his sons were very young, and that the administration was being carried by his widowed queen as the regent. It is quite probable that she may have taken help in the task from her brother, entrusting to his care the western portions of her vast dominions. Mahārāshṭra may well have been entrusted to his care, and it is therefore quite natural that his coins should be found in Satara district, so far away from Chitaldurg. I would therefore tentatively suggest that the present coin should be attributed to a member of the Sadakana family, who was very probably a son of Kaḷalāya of Chitaldurg coins.

(2) A coin of Vāsishṭhīputra Viḷivāyakura.



Obv. Bow and arrow ; circular legend, commencing (XII)
Raño Vasi (thīputasa Viḷivā) yakurasa.

Rev. *Chaitya* of four tiers, with a dot in each arch, surmounted by a crescent and a tree, standing on a railing ornamented with scroll and dots ; left, *Nandīpāda*, right, a damaged symbol.

Metal, potin ; shape, circular with a diameter of .7", weight, 45 gr.

Though the legend is fragmentary, the attribution of this coin presents no difficulty. It is undoubtedly a coin of King Vāsishṭhīputra Viḷivāyakura, whose coins were discovered in the Kolhāpur hoard. Only six of the potin coins in that hoard were of some use for the purpose of decipherment (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XIII, p. 303) ; the present coin showing half the legend in a legible condition is therefore a rare one. Most of the

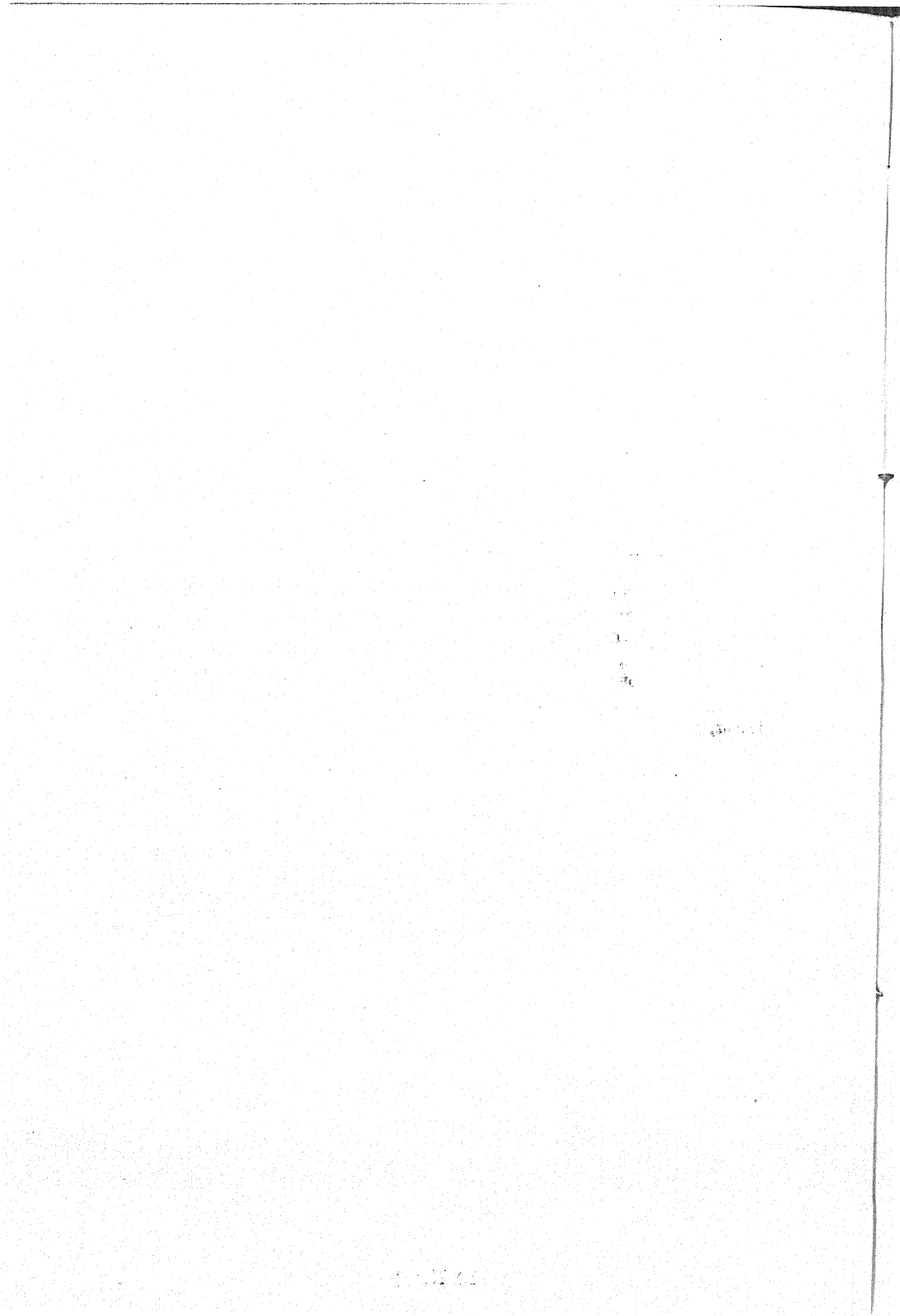
bow and arrow type of coins published so far have come from the Kolhāpur hoard. The present coin was discovered in the bed of the Kṛishṇā river in Satara district and would show that if Vāsishṭhīputra Vīlivāyakura was a feudatory, his sway extended over the Satara district as well.

A. S. ALTEKAR.

331. NOTE ON AN ALLEGED COIN OF RUDRASENA.




It has been suggested recently by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal that the coin published in the Indian Museum Catalogue of Coins, Plate XX, No. 5, should be attributed to the Vākātaka ruler Rudrasena I (*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 72-73 and plate III). This view, however, does not seem to be a correct one. It is very doubtful whether on the obverse of this coin we can read above the wheel the letters *Rudra*. Several other coins of this very type have been published and we naturally expect them to show the legend *Rudra* in the place concerned. Cunningham is said to have possessed seven coins of this variety, all of which were picked up in or near Kosam (*I.M.C.*, p. 146). We, however, possess only three more facsimiles of other coins of this variety, published in Rapson, *Indian Coins*, pl. III, No. 12, Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pl. V, No. 7 and Prinsep, *Essays*, Vol. II, pl. 44, No. 6. A glance at these facsimiles will show that they are all identical coins issued from similar dies. Above the wheel there are no traces of the letters *Rudra* but another symbol which looks like a trident or *triratna*. In the facsimile of the coin in the Indian Museum this symbol is but imperfectly seen, but it is quite clear in the three other facsimiles mentioned above. It thus becomes clear that we cannot read the name Rudra above the wheel as has been suggested.

A. S. ALTEKAR.



332. NOTES ON TWO GUPTA COINS.

I. *The So-called Gold Token of Kumāragupta I.*

In Numismatic Supplement, XLIV, No. 309, Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal has described five thin gold plaques which he found in the cabinet of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. The most intriguing of these curious pieces has been identified by him as a gold token of Kumāragupta I. I propose to consider here this identification. A cogent objection to the ascription to Kumāragupta I would be that it seems highly improbable that Kumāragupta I, who issued a very large number of gold coins of a great variety of types and also issued silver coins in considerable quantities, should have issued in addition any tokens. We know that he had occasion to order a special issue to be struck, namely his Aśvamedha issue, which in fabric and weight is like the coins issued by him and his predecessors of the Gupta dynasty. The thin piece of gold which Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal describes as a token of Kumāragupta I is very unlike the issues of the Gupta Emperors up to and including Kumāragupta I. The fabric and style are entirely dissimilar. Again the attribution of the piece to Kumāragupta I cannot be justified on paleographical grounds. The style of writing and the formation of the letters are unlike those of his numerous known coins. Taking individual letters into consideration the 'ha' in 'Mahendra' on his gold coins is shaped thus:  but on this plaque  which, although a fifth century form, does not occur on any of his coins. On a large number of Kumāragupta's silver coins issued for his western provinces and on his silver-plated coins of Valabhi fabric the letter 'ha' takes the form peculiar to the western Gupta script thus:  while its shape on the plaque is different as we have just seen. Apparently Prayag Dayal has based his identification of the piece solely on the ground of the occurrence on it of the words 'Sri Mahendrāditya'. This, he says, is a name of Kumāragupta I which 'appears on his silver and silver-plated coins'. To be strictly accurate it is only on the silver coins of his western issues and on his coins of Valabhi fabric that he is styled 'Kumāragupta Mahendrāditya' but never simply 'Mahendrāditya'. The legend 'Mahendrāditya' does not occur on his other silver coins or on any of his gold issues. As regards the letter 'ru', which is found next to a cluster of seven dots, Prayag Dayal states that it has 'not been met with so far', 'ru' does not occur on coins of Kumāragupta I, but is

to be found in the field on the coins of Prakāsāditya and Vishnugupta, two later rulers, and this fact alone would leave no room for doubt that a later date than the reign of Kumāragupta I, must be assigned to the plaque. It does not seem possible to explain with certainty the device on the coin in all its details although Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal sees in the figure on the plaque 'Garūḍa in the usual attitude with his wings spread out. To his right are a crescent and an oval object encircled by dots which perhaps stands for the sun'. What look like very small circular dots are not to be found round any motif on any known Gupta coin but are to be found on later coins, e.g., round the elephants in the abhisheka scene on the reverse of Saśāṅka's coins (*vide* B.M.C., Pl. XXIV, 1), and this also points to a later date. So also does the border of large dots, which is quite unlike the border of little dots to be found on Gupta coins, but occurs for the first time on the late imitation Gupta coins found in Bengal, and is a characteristic feature of the coinage of a number of rulers of mediæval India, e.g. Gāṅgeyadeva of Chedi.

If due weight is given to all the above considerations we cannot but come to the conclusion that the identification of the plaque under discussion as a gold token of Kumāragupta I must be rejected and the plaque must be assigned to some later king of the sixth or seventh century A.D. who may have taken the title of 'Mahendrāditya', possibly the Kumāragupta of the Bhitari seal.

As regards the remaining pieces described by Prayag Dayal, they are all very crude and can only be described as clumsy plaques, on which the design is a travesty of motifs occurring on numerous Kushan and Gupta coins. These pieces and the so-called token are not unconnected, as the size is about the same and all have similar borders of dots and the execution is crude, although the so-called token is of better workmanship than the others. Other points of agreement are the light weight and thinness of gold, which has been impressed on dies so that the design stands out in relief on one side only. Their broad style reminds one of the late imitation Gupta coins of Bengal, but, in the absence of any recorded data of their provenance, we cannot assign them to any particular locality. Probably they were intended for use as charms or ornaments, like the gold plaque with a head in profile embossed on it, found at Bhitā by Sir John Marshall (Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, 1911, Pl. XXXII, No. 11).

II. A Rare Variety of Samudragupta's Standard Type.

There is a very rare variety of the Standard type of Samudragupta's coinage to which the attention of numismatists does not appear to have been drawn by the leading authority on the Gupta series, Mr. John Allan, the author of the British Museum catalogue, or by previous writers such as V. A. Smith and Prof. Rapson. This is a coin on which the king is shown wearing a dagger. I have a fine specimen in my collection and have noticed one in the British Museum (B.M.C., Pl. I, 12), but I find that this variety is not represented in the Indian Museum collection. Particulars of the coin illustrated above from my collection are :—

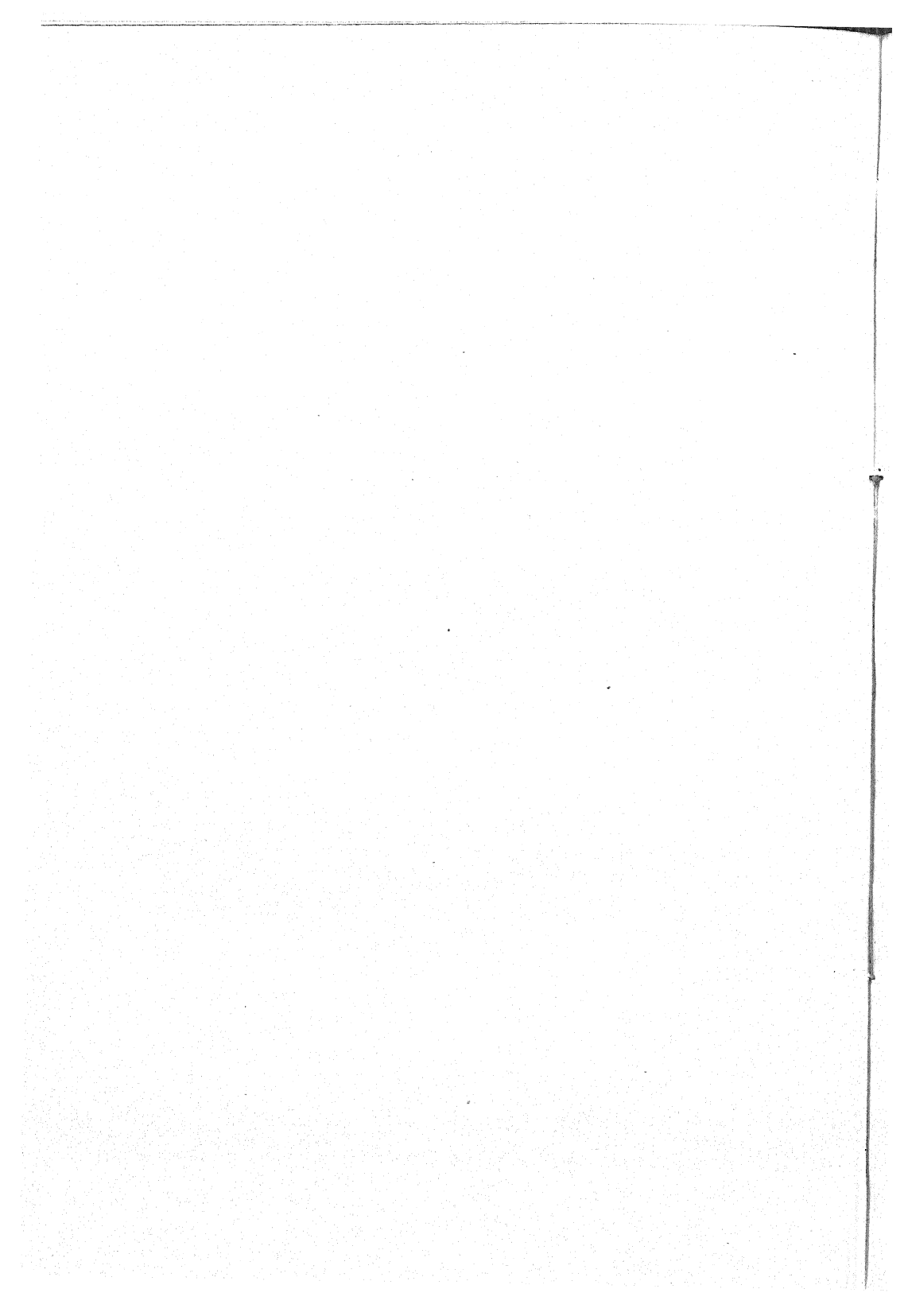


AV. S. 8—*Obv.* Samaraśatavitatavi . . . ripuraji . .
Wt. 121.0. *Rev.* Parākramah.

Symbols on reverse on right and left of throne as on
B.M.C., Pl. I, 12, but the die is different.

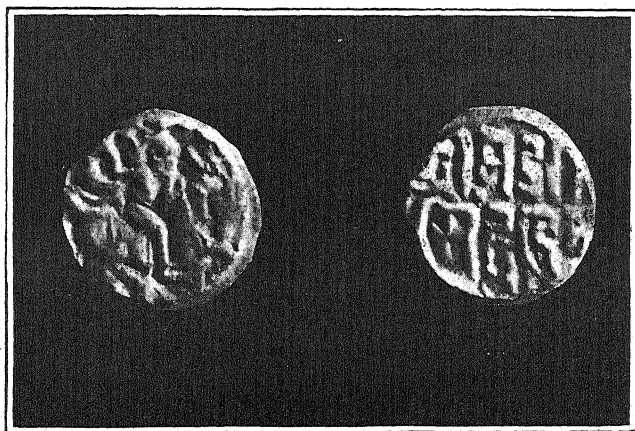
The importance of the coin for numismatists lies in the fact that it establishes a link with varieties of the Battle-axe type in which the king is represented as wearing a dagger (B.M.C., Pl. IV, 8–10, 15). The dagger variety, as we might call this coin, of the Standard type is earlier and the use of the weapon on the Battle-axe type is a development from it ; in the former the dagger is worn in an aslant fashion in front and in the latter like a short sword at the side.

AJIT GHOSE.



333. A GOLD COIN OF VIRASIMHA.

This coin is in the collection of Mr. Ajit Ghose, the well-known collector of antiquities and coins of Calcutta. It was obtained from Gwalior, and may, therefore, be considered as originating from its neighbourhood.



Its obverse shows an unusually spirited representation of a horse with a warrior riding it. The horse is in full gallop, the tail is up, the head bent down; on the crest there appears to be two feathers or similar ornamentation, and there are clear traces of a saddle, which is rather rare in representations of this period. The rider in his uplifted right hand seems to be carrying some weapons, while his left holds the reins. On the whole the horseman compares very favourably with the stereotyped linear representations familiar on the coins of the Shahiyas and their imitations which lack the strong relief of the present coin. On the reverse the legend in two lines is written in characters of about the 12th century A.D., line 1, *Śrīmad-Vīra*, and line 2, *Simhadeva*. There are traces of some device, apparently a lotus below the second line. The border of dots can be discerned on the obverse and also possibly on the reverse. The gold appears to be quite yellow and pure, but the size is very small (.45" in diameter) and weight only 13.8 grain.

The only king of the name of Virasimha, of whom we have any record about this period, is the prince who is the donor of the copper-plate published in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 542ff. It refers to the gift of this

king from his fort of Nalapura (the modern Narwar, a District in Gwalior State) in the year V. S. 1177=1120-21 A.D. The king who calls himself Mahārājādhirāja, belongs to the Kachchhapaghāta Dynasty, his predecessors being named as Gaganasimha and Śaradasimha. It is this king to whom the present coin can be attributed with certainty. Gold coins weighing from 66 to 68 grains were issued about this period by the Rāthor king Govinda Chandra whose dominions lay to the north-east, the Chedi Kings to the south-east had their own coinage, while the Tomara King Mahīpala who ruled over Delhi and Ajmer to the north and north-west, issued copper coins. Virasimha, however, seems to have designed an original type, in which the horseman was adopted on the obverse and a legend more or less on the lines of the coins of Chandellas and Gaharwars on the reverse.

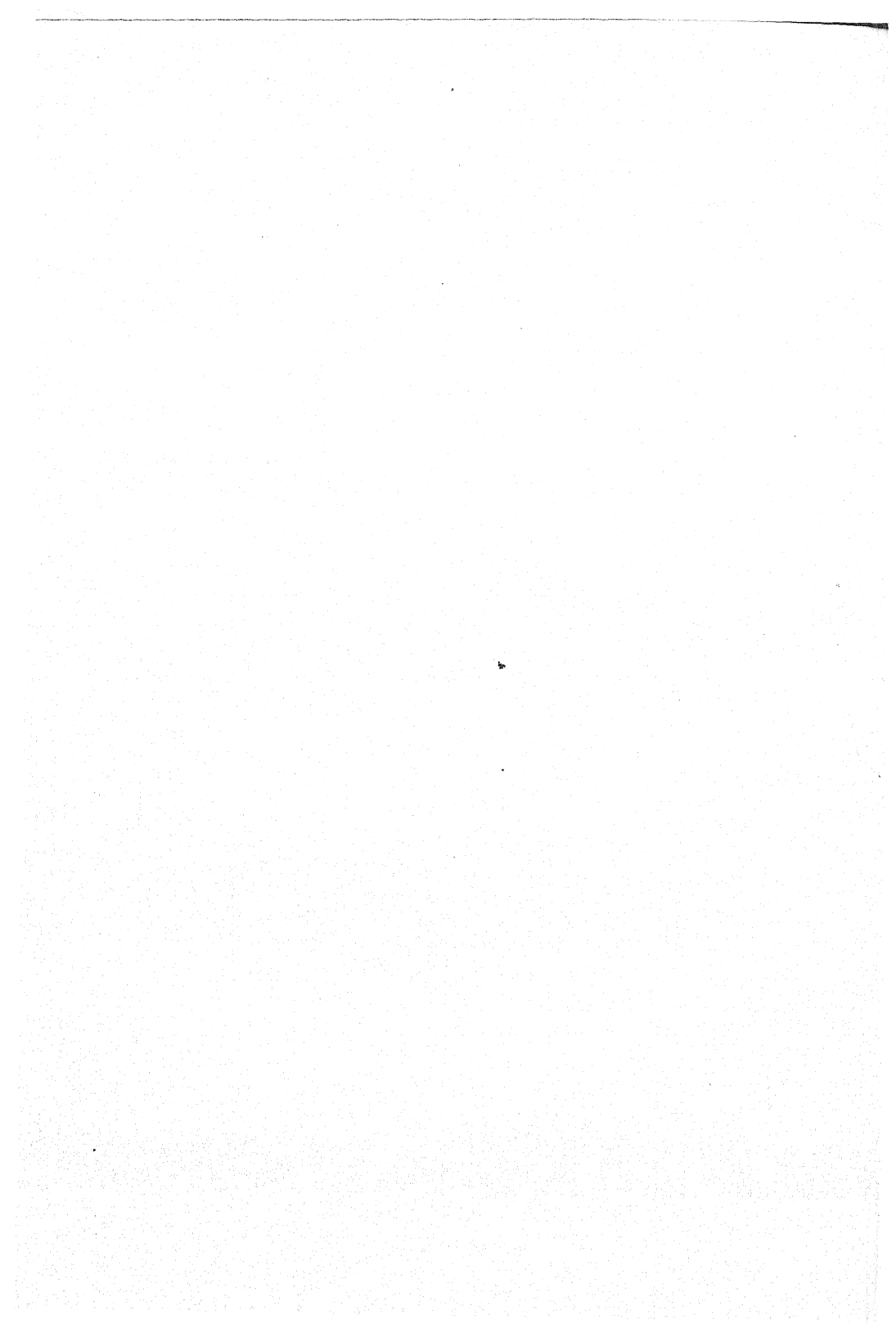
The present coin is almost similar in weight to the base issues of Jājalladeva which appear to be about one-fifth the weight of the bigger pieces or *drammas*. In Vincent Smith's Indian Museum Catalogue, p. 251, the coins of Gāṅgeyadeva weighing 7 grain, were supposed to have been equivalent to one-eighth *dramma*. I should, however, think that as most of the coins weigh from 60 to 64 grain, and some coins of Govinda Chandra weigh even as much as 68 grain, it is likely that the standard weight was about 70 grain, and the small coins weighing from 13 to 14 grain may be considered as one-fifth and those weighing 7 grain as one-tenth of a *dramma*. It is, however, likely that there was no uniformity in the standard of the issues of the various dynasties of the Central and Northern India at this period.

A class of gold coins with the legend, *Śrīmad-Virasimha-Rāma*, is known. One specimen exists in the Lucknow Museum and another found in the Gorakhpur District was published by Vincent Smith in *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXVI, Pt. I, 1897, p. 308. The reverse side shows a seated god almost like that on the coins of Gāṅgeyadeva, but the deity is a male figure, holding *chakra* and *gadā* in the hands and thus appears to be a form of Viṣṇu, instead of the goddess on other coins of this period. Vincent Smith regarded this coin as a puzzle, as he could not find any king with the name of *Virasimha-Rāma* in the lists of the Kalachuri, Chandela, Rathor, Tomar or Chauhan dynasties. It does not seem probable that Virasimhadeva and Virasimha-Rāma were names of one and the same individual, as the locality where the present coin was acquired is situated far away from the eastern United Provinces where the other two coins were collected, and the types are quite different. But the kings appear to belong to the same period, viz. the 11th-12th century A.D.

The coinage of Narwar was continued in the 13th century by two rulers named Malayavarman and Chāḥadadeva, both of whom issued copper coins with the horseman type on the

obverse. It is, however, remarkable that neither of these rulers belonged to the Kachchhapaghāta Dynasty of Virasimha, the former being a Pratihāra and the latter a Jājapella. It will thus be seen that the present coin is a unique example of the numismatic issue of a dynasty known only from their epigraphical record in Gwalior territory.

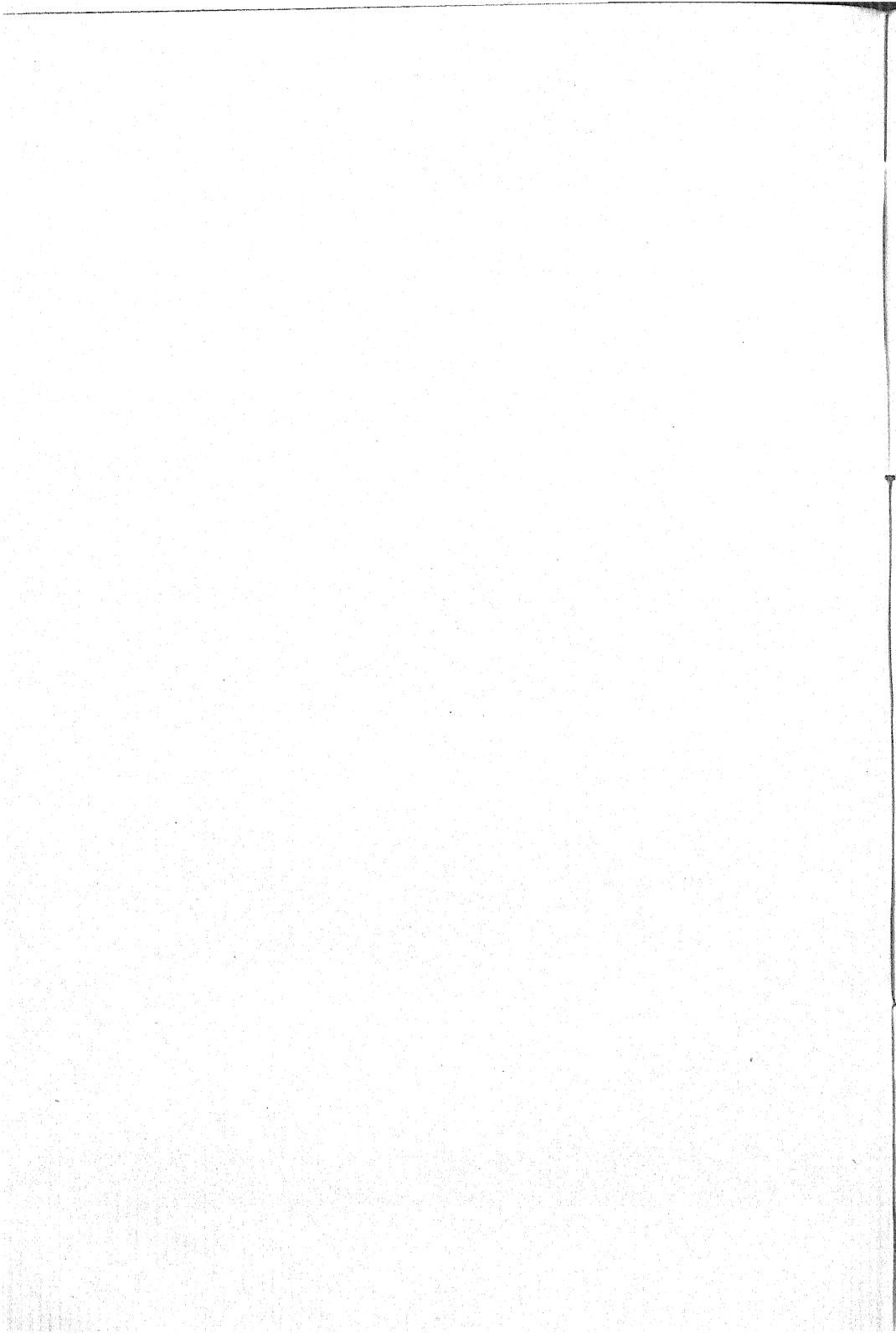
K. N. DIKSHIT.



336. A NOTE ON THE BILINGUAL COINS OF SULTAN MAHMUD
OF GHAZNI.

The bilingual issues of Sultan Mahmud are well-known from the Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum (Lane poole Nos. 505-514), published in Plate VI. The remarkable point about these coins is the attempt made by Sultan Mahmud for the first and last time in the annals of Muslim Numismatics to translate the whole of the Arabic legend into Sanskrit. The translation of *Allā* by *Avyakta*, and *Rasūl* by *Avatāra*, is in particular an interesting attempt. I would, however, confine here my remarks to the marginal legend which appears on the two types of coins. The word *Bismillā zarb* has been translated almost literally as *Avyaktīya-nāme hatō* (struck in the name of God). The last word is quite clear on a coin which was recently obtained for the Indian Museum. It has been read before as *tata* or *tate*. There is no necessity to read *nāme* for *nāme*, the regular form. The expression *ayam tamkam* is of course not in order, and should have been *ayam tamkaḥ*. The next word may be read as *Mahāmūdapure* instead of *Mahāmūdapura*. In coins Nos. 510-514 constituting the second class struck in 419 A.H., the marginal legend is slightly different, the word *avyaktīya-nāme* being dropped and some word added before *Samvati*. The legend here seems to be *ayam tamkam Mahāmūdapuraghaṭe hata(o)*. *Ghaṭa* here apparently stands for *ghaṭṭa*=a custom station, then a mint. The word following *hata* has been read as *jikiyera*, but has not yet been satisfactorily explained. I, however, draw the attention of numismatists to the fact, that the word must be some equivalent of the 'Hijri' Era, to which the dates on these coins are to be referred. I tentatively read the word as *Jināyana*, which means the 'passing or transit of the prophet' referring to the Prophet's transit from Mecca to Medina. Here again it is noteworthy that the prophet is referred to as the Jina, a term used by the Buddhists and Jains to denote the founders or supreme teachers of their religion, and it is thus a singularly appropriate expression for a prophet. The word *ayana* means 'transition', as in 'dakṣiṇāyana' = the transition (of the sun) to the south, i.e. the summer solstice, and it is aptly applied to the prophet's transit to Medina which was such an important turning point in the history of the Islamic faith that a new era was calculated from this date.

K. N. DIKSHIT.



335. THE TRIBAL COINS OF NORTHERN INDIA.

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INTRODUCTION.

Monarchy was the form of government that prevailed in the Vedic period. It was in post-Vedic times, that experiments in constitution making began, and republics and aristocracies came into existence. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in his monumental work on Hindu Polity has given us all the available data about them. The Republics were generally designated *Ganas*, as these states or *Samghas* were governed by assemblies, 'so-called because of the 'number' or 'numbering' of the members present'.¹ Pāṇini (C. 500 B.C.) refers to a number of republics which are designated *Ayudhajivin* Samghas i.e. the Samghas which 'observed the practice of arms or military art'. These are: (1) the Vrika, (2) the Dāmani (and others), (3) the Trigartta-Shashtha or the League of the six Trigarttas, (4) the Yaudheyas "and others" and the Parśva and others. The six Trigarttas were the (a) the Kaundoparatha, (b) the Dāṇḍaki, (c) the Kaushtaki, (d) the Jālamāni, (e) the Brāhmagupta, and (f) the Jānaki². These republics according to Pāṇini were situated in the Vāhika country which is interpreted by Jayaswal to mean the country of the rivers and comprised the Sindh valley and the Punjab. Pāṇini also names six other communities which are known to be republics—(1) the Madra, (2) the Vṛji, (3) the Rājanya, (4) the Andhaka-Vṛishṇi (5) the Mahārāja, and (6) the Bharga. Buddhist Literature also records the names of a

¹ Jayaswal—Hindu Polity, p. 27.

² *Ibid.*, p. 35.

number of republics—(a) the Śākya of Kapilāvastu, (b) the Koliyas of Rāmagrāma, (c) the Lichchavis of Vaiśālī, (d) the Videhas of Mithilā, (e) the Mallas of Kuśinagar and Pāvā, (f) the Moriya of Pippalivana, (g) the Bulis of Allakappa and (h) the Bhaggas or the Bhargas. The Lichchavis and the Videhas were jointly called the Vrijis or Vajjis. These states extended 'from the districts of Gorakhpur and Ballia to the district of Bhagalpur, to the north of Magadha and the south of the Himalayas'.¹

Another group of republics is referred to by Kautilya. Of the *Rājasaḍdopajivin* Saṁghas i.e. the republics in which the leaders had the title of kings, Kautilya 'enumerates: (1) the Lichchhivikas, (2) the Vrijikas, (3) the Mallakas, (4) the Madrakas, (5) the Kukuras, (6) the Kurus, (7) the Pāñchālas and others'.² The other class of republics, the *Śastropajivin* Saṁghas were: (1) the Kāmbojas, (2) the Surāshtras, (3) the Kshatriyas, (4) the Śreṇis and others'.³ The Vrijis here perhaps refer to the Videhas only. Some of these states changed from monarchy to republic e.g. the Kurus, the Videhas and the Pāñchālas. The Lichchhavis are famous in Buddhist Literature and had a long history, but the Mallas perhaps did not survive the Mauryas; so also was the case with the Kurus. The Pāñchālas however came down to the time of Patañjali, i.e. after the Mauryas. The Kukuras were members of the Andhaka-Vṛishni League. The Kāmbojas lived in eastern Afghanistan, the Surāshtras in Kathiawar and the Kshatriyas and Śreṇis in Sindh. Jayaswal's identification of the Kshatriyas, the Xathroi of the Macedonian writers as a political body and not a caste denomination is fully justified. The *Argesinae* with its variants *Agesinae*, *Acensoni* etc. can surely be identified with the *Agra-Śreṇis* or the First Śreṇī, i.e. one of the branches of the republican people the Śreṇis which had perhaps a number of divisions, like the 3 sections of the Yaudhayas, of which the 2nd and the 3rd sections are referred to specifically, on their coins.

The Macedonian writers give a long list of aristocratic and republican states with which the Greeks under Alexander came into contact. The *Kathaians* (the *Kathas*) lived to the east of the Ravi or the Hydraotes including the districts of Lahore and Amritsar, and their capital was Sankala. Alexander met with a number of republics before he reached the Kathaians. At a little distance from the Ravi dwelt the *Adrestai* who had been identified by Jayaswal with the *Arishṭas* of Pāṇini. The *Sabhuti* state, was situated near the Kathaian territory and extended to the Salt Range. On the east of the Hyphasis or Beas dwelt a people with an aristocratic form of government and Jayaswal suggests from the discovery of the *Yaudheya* coins in the locality

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.³ *Ibid.*, p. 60.² *Ibid.*, p. 57.

that they were really the Yaudheyas of old who were good agriculturists, brave in war and had an excellent system of government.

Alexander during his retreat met with a number of republics which covered the region down the Indus to the Baluchistan frontier. The most powerful states were the *Oxydrakai*, the *Malloi* and the *Siboi*,—the Kshudrakas, the Mālavas and the Sivi or Sāibyas. The Mālavas dwelt on the Jhelum below its confluence with the Chenab, while the Kshudrakas had their territories higher up. The Sivi also dwelt near the Mālavas. Nearby lived the Agsinæ who have been identified with the Agra-Srenis by Jayaswal and the next republican people were the *Ambashthas* who are referred to by the Greeks as *Sambastai* or the *Abastanoi*. The *Xathroi*, the *Ossadioi* and the *Musicani* have been restored to their Sanskrit forms by Jayaswal as the Kshatriyas, the Vasātis and the Muchukarna. The *Brachmanoi*, were the Brāhmanas who had a little republic to the north of *Patala* which was situated in the Indus delta, identified with Hyderabad in Sindh. The *Phegelas* and the *Glaukanikoi* have been identified with the Bhagala of the Ganapātha and Glauchukāyanakas of the Kāśikā. It is thus evident that in the 4th century B.C. the Punjab and Sindh region was covered by a large number of republican and aristocratic states and we have no reason to take the list of the Greek writers as exhaustive. Alexander did not traverse the whole Punjab, so it is reasonable to expect that there were other republics in the Vāhika country and Jayaswal mentions the names of the *Yaudheyas*, the *Āratas*, the *Sayandas*, the *Gopālavas*, and the *Kaundibrisas*.

The establishment of the Maurya Empire sounded the death-knell of the smaller republican or aristocratic states. Only the bigger states like the *Kshudrakas*, the *Mālavas*, the *Rāshtrikas*, the *Bhojakas* and the *Vrijis* survived the imperial domination. A few are also mentioned by Asoka in his Rock Edicts. There is no doubt that the *Rāshtrika-Bhojas* and the *Pitinikas* had republican constitutions. The *Gāndhāras*, the *Nābhakas* and the *Nābha-pariktis*, and the *Yavanas* had perhaps a similar system of government. But as regards the *Andhras* and the *Pulindas*, we have no definite data, though Jayaswal would like to infer that as *Rājavishayas* i.e. 'ruling (or sovereign) countries (or districts)', they were of the same category i.e. republican.

Only the stronger republics outlived the imperial domination of the Mauryas. But a few new states came into existence under the Śūngas. In Mr. Jayaswal's opinion, the establishment of the Northern Satraps at Mathura compelled the stronger republics to migrate to Rajputana. The Yaudheyas, the Madras, the Mālavas and the Sibis left their original homes in the Punjab and migrated to the desert region of Rajputana for comparative safety. It was their love of independence that constrained them

to exchange their fertile lands for their new homes. The *Ārjunāyanas* perhaps came into existence during the Śunga times and they also migrated to Rajputana. The *Vāmathas* and the *Sālankāyanas* are also supposed to have been 'founded in the closing and weak period of the Mauryas'. The *Kukurās* and the *Sūdras* remained in their original homes in the Punjab and the *Vṛishṇis* are found in Mathurā where they lived as of old. Jayaswal has succeeded in rescuing the names of a number of such states, but it is evident that the republican and aristocratic states were very large in number and scattered over the whole country, and they passed through various changes in constitution. The non-monarchical states disappear in the 5th century A.D. and for this, perhaps, the Imperial Guptas were mainly responsible.

It is absolutely certain that these non-monarchical states or at least many of them issued coins when the new invention came into existence in this country, perhaps early in the 8th century B.C.¹ But the earlier coins were of the punch-marked variety. So it is not possible to ascribe these coins, with symbols impressed on them, to the different republican or aristocratic states. If we could identify these symbols which served as emblems or insignias of the different states, a correct identification of the coins would be possible. But the data available are not sufficient to identify the old punch-marked coins issued by the tribal states. Even when the system of die-struck coins with legends on them, came into use, some of the tribes refrained from adopting the innovation. The Madras were the contemporaries of Samudragupta but they left no inscribed coins. We cannot therefore, expect to identify all the tribal coins even of the latest period.

The Tribes and Peoples with non-monarchical constitutions which issued inscribed coins and about whose identity there is absolutely no doubt are the following—the *Ārjunāyanas*, *Aśvakas*, *Audumbaras*, *Kulūtas*, *Kuṇindas*, *Mahārāja Janapada*, *Mālavas*, *Nāgas*, *Sibis*, *Rājanya Janapada*, *Vimakas*, *Vṛishṇis*, *Uddehikas*, and the *Yaudheyas*. In the case of the *Vimakas*, their coins only, testify as to their existence; we have no reference to them elsewhere, and this is the only source of information about them. A discussion about the tribal coins of die-struck variety might enable us to identify their punch-marked coins also, as a result of the recognition of their special symbols.

The forms of the coin-legends incidentally point to their political organisation. Some of the republics issued coins in the name of the *Gaṇa* e.g. the *Yaudheyas*, the *Mālavas*, the *Ārjunāyanas* and others. Some of the *Yaudheya* coins were

¹ S. K. Chakraborty—A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics, Chapter II.

issued in the name of the *Gaṇa* and their *Mantra-dharas*¹ or the Executive Council. The *Vṛishṇi* coins were perhaps issued in the name of the *Rājanya* and the *Gaṇa*. Jayaswal has determined the 'constitutional significance of the word *Rājanya*' and takes it to mean 'the leaders of the families consecrated to rulership' among the *Vṛishṇis* who had perhaps an aristocratic constitution. There is nothing improbable in the issue of coins by the republican states in the names of their executive heads e.g. *Rājanya-Mahamitasa*, (of the *Rājanya* or President *Mahāmitra*)² and such others.

THE WEIGHT-SYSTEMS.

The punch-marked coins of copper and silver are the oldest coins of this country. These are based upon two weight systems—one for silver, the *Purāṇas* or *Dharaṇas*, and the other for copper, the *Kārshāpaṇa*,³ both however dependent upon the *rati* or *raktika* 'the red-and-black berry of the *Guñja* plant' also known as *Kṛishṇala* or the 'black'.⁴ The silver *Purāṇa* weighs 32 *ratis* while the copper *Kārshāpaṇa* was of 80 *ratis* and these coins had their sub-multiples—the *ardha*, *pāda* and so on. The *Purāṇa* is equated to 56 and a *Kārshāpaṇa* to 140 grains by Prof. Bhandarkar.⁵ The extant coins however fall far short of the standard weight and this will be evident from a comparison of the weights of the coins catalogued by V. Smith.⁶ In the case of the copper coins the variation from the standard weight seems to be greater than in the case of the silver ones. In determining the amount of variation from the standard weight, we have to grapple with some uncertain factors. First of all the weight of the *rati* is not fixed. It is the seed of a tree and the ripe fruits are sure to vary in size and weight. As a matter of fact some of the scholars who took the trouble of weighing a large number of ripe *Guñja* seeds arrived at different averages. Cunningham takes a *rati* as equal to 1.83 gr., Elliot as 1.68 gr., Smith as 1.825 while Bhandarkar equates a *rati* to 1.75 gr.⁷; it is likely that the *rati* weight was not the same throughout the country. Moreover we have to take into account the wear and tear to which the coins were subjected throughout the centuries that they were in circulation, the corroding influence

¹ J.H.P.1., pp. 40, 83, 151, 181.

² *Ibid.*, p. 160.

Cunningham, Sir A.—Coins of Ancient India, p. 69 (pl. IV, figs. 8 and 9).

³ Chakraborty, S. K.—A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics, Chapter III—'Weights and Coin Denominations'.

⁴ Cunningham, Sir A.—Coins of Ancient India, p. 45.

⁵ Bhandarkar, D. R.—Ancient Indian Numismatics, p. 212.

⁶ Smith, V. A.—Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum, pp. 136–142.

⁷ Chakraborty, S. K.—A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics, p. 51.

of earth and climate and the inveterate habit of clipping, a vice which was very prevalent before the introduction of milled edge to the coins in recent times. It is difficult however to determine upon the percentage of variation that must be allowed for the different factors but the cumulative result is a marked difference from the standard weight which seems to be greater in the case of copper. Cunningham took 800 punch-marked silver coins from all parts of India and found the average weight as 'upwards of 47 grains', that is, a loss of 9 grains taking 56 grains as the standard weight of a Purāṇa (or 19 p.c.). He also hazards that 'the average loss of these punch-marked coins was not more than one grain and a half in a century',¹ if these coins are taken to be in circulation for 600 years from 450 B.C. to 150 A.D. But his conclusion is vitiated, as it is impossible to take for all these coins a life of 600 years; some of them might be recent issues, minted just before the punch-marked coinage went out of use. So Cunningham's estimate of loss seems to be the lowest for the silver coins; actually the loss must have been much greater; while in the case of the copper coins, taking into account the nature of the metal itself, the loss must have been heavier. The conclusion therefore that we cannot expect the extant coins to be exactly of the standard weight, whether of indigenous or foreign origin is well-attested and admits of no doubt; but the greater the variation from the standard weight, the less reliable are our conclusions about the identification of the weight standard.

A new standard weight was introduced by the Persians with their occupation of the Punjab by Darius I Hystaspes. His gold coins the *Darics* weighed about 130 grs. and the silver coins of the Persian Empire, the *sigloi* were equated to 86.45 grs.² Very few gold *Darics* came to this country but the silver *sigloi* came to this country in the course of commerce in comparatively large numbers. India though a producer of the precious metal had no gold coinage before the Kushanas and the difference in the price ratio between gold and silver in India as compared with the West, facilitated the export of gold from India and made it highly profitable to bring in silver either in specie or in coins from outside.³ The Athenian 'owls', the Seleucidan coins and their Indian imitations were based upon the Attic drachm of 67.5 grains.⁴ The multiples of the drachm were the tetradrachm, didrachm and the sub-multiples were the tetrobol, diobol, trihemibol and the obol. The Graeco-Bactrian kings also adopted the Attic standard and their coinage was based upon the Attic drachm of 67.5 grs. But the later Indo-Greek kings gradually swung on to the Persian standard and gave up the

¹ Cunningham, Sir A.—Coins of Ancient India, p. 55.

² Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, pp. 342-44.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 343.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 387.

Attic weight standard.¹ Heliocles was the first to adopt the new standard; and he as also his successors, Apollodotus and Antialcidas used both the Attic and Indo-Persian standards. The later Greek princes used only the Indo-Persian Standard, a step which cannot be satisfactorily explained. The argument is put forward by Gardner that the change was due to the change in the relative value of the two metals, gold and silver, but this is not a cogent reason. Von Sallet regards it as reduced from the Attic standard.² The acceptance of the new standard was perhaps facilitated by the fact that the region where the Indo-Greek kings ruled had been habituated to the Persian standard when it was under Persian domination. The weight of the extant drachms of the Indo-Persic standard naturally varies but there is no doubt that it was substantially the half of a siglos of 86.45 grains, or perhaps a little less. None of the hemi-drachms of the Indo-Greek kings in the Indian Museum exceed 40 grains in weight. One coin of Antimachos II Nikephoros weighs 39.8 grs.³; another coin of the same king in fine condition weighs 37.1 grs.⁴ Of Nahapāna's coins in the British Museum of the same standard weight, the heaviest weighs 39.3 and the lightest 25.5 grs.⁵ So it is practically certain that the Indo-Persian standard was a little less than the pure Persian standard, and 40 grains may be approximately taken to be the maximum weight of these hemi-drachms of the Indo-Greek rulers and those Indian states or tribes or foreign rulers who followed in their wake. However the influence of the Indo-Greek kings was so great that their hemi-drachm of Indo-Persic standard was not only adopted by the people in the western half of Hindustan but also by the Western Satraps of Saurāshtra and Mālwa, and Rañjubula, the satrap of Mathurā.

Of the tribal states the Audumbaras, Kunindas, Vimakas, Vrishnis and the Yaudheyas used silver coins. The Audumbara coin of Dharaghosha (C.C.A.I., p. 67) weighs 37.5 grains. The eight Kuninda coins in Smith's catalogue vary in weight from 30.8 to 34.2, the Vrishni coin has a weight of 32 grains, while the weight of the Yaudheya coins in Cunningham's collection is only 26 grains, much below the average. However there is no doubt that these tribal silver coins are based upon the Indo-Persian standard weight and not on the indigenous weight system of the Purāṇas or Dharāṇas. As regards the copper coins, the identification of the weight standard is exceedingly difficult and in some cases practically impossible. The copper coins may be divided into two sections, those of the monometallic tribes and those of

¹ Rapson, E. J.—Indian Coins, p. 6.

² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³ Smith—Catalogue of Coins in I.M., p. 29 (No. 12).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29 (No. 1).

⁵ Rapson, E. J.—Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc., pp. 65-70.

people who adopted bimetallism, the two classes being influenced by different monetary principles. Monometallic issues stand apart by themselves, but in the case of bimetallism variations in the relative value of the two metals introduce certain complications in working the monetary system. In India, the monometallism of copper can be regarded as more natural than that of silver, not only because the white metal was rarer and imported from abroad,¹ but because copper seems to have been coined earlier in India. Even copper appears to have fetched a good value in the beginning, but the advent of silver in larger quantities, particularly after the introduction of foreign coinage under the Persian, Indo-Greek and Parthian influence, threw copper to a subordinate position.²

The Ārjunāyanas Āsvakas, Kulūtas, Mahārāja Janapada, Rājanya Janapada, Sibis, Uddehikas Nāgas and Mālavas issued copper coins only. If any one of them had silver issues, these have not yet been discovered. It is evident that some of these tribes followed the traditional weight standard of the Kārshāpaṇa of 80 ratis for copper coins and the variation in weight of the extant coins may be explained as due to the variation in the weight of the rati in the different parts of the country. The Āsvaka coin in Smith's catalogue (No. 13, p. 157) weighs 146·4 grs. and the other one reproduced by Cunningham weighs 145 grs. So it is clear that they are Kārshāpaṇas of 80 ratis. The actual weight might have been a little more and proves the rati to be a little heavy. The two Ārjunāyana coins in Smith's catalogue weigh 61·3 and 14·8—the heavier is evidently a Half-Kārshāpaṇa and the lighter is one-eighth Kārshāpaṇa or Dvi-Māṣaka. But there can be no doubt that the Sibis had a different weight standard. And of the ten specimens, one has a weight of 18 grains and the others weigh from 63 to 84 grs. The 4 Rājanya coins of pure copper in Smith's catalogue weigh 57·8, 50·4, 79 and 76 grs. ; and the weights of the 4 other brass or pale bronze coins of this tribe are 22, 45·3, 34·5 and 68·2 grs. ; consequently these coins cannot be ascribed to the system based upon the indigenous weight standard e.g. Kārshāpaṇa of 80 ratis. How much alloy was introduced in the brass pieces and what was the relative value of the metals, we are not in a position to determine without the chemical examination of the contents. We have therefore, no data to come to any positive and final conclusion about the identity of the weight standard adopted by the Sibis, the Rājanyas and also of the Mālavas and Nāgas. But a comparison of the weights of the Mālava and Nāga coins raises a strong presumption that there is some affinity, if not identity, in the weight-systems adopted by these two peoples. Most of

¹ Cunningham, Sir A.—Coins of Ancient India, p. 5.

² Chakraborty, S. K.—A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics, pp. 76–78.

the coins of the Nāgas are very small and the weight varies from 6.3 to 26.2 grs. One coin (No. 15—Smith's catalogue) is unusually thick and weighs 42 grs. If we take the heaviest Nāga coin of 42 grs. to be of standard weight, then it is possible to arrange the other specimens as its sub-multiples—three-fourth, half, and one-fourth : in every case the diminution due to wear and tear etc. being left out of consideration. The weight of 42 grs. is almost that of the silver hemi-drachms. Consequently it appears likely that these copper coins were made equal in weight to that of the silver coins on purpose and an attempt was made to facilitate the interchange of the copper coins with the silver ones from outside—so many copper coins for one silver coin fixed according to the market ratio of the two metals. The Mālava coins are smaller still ; the weight ranges from 1.7 to 40.3 grs. The coin No. 106 in Smith's catalogue is the smallest in the collection and Mālava coins are among the most 'curious and enigmatical'. It is impossible to arrange these coins according to any weight-system and it is almost sure that the same weight-system was not adhered to throughout the period these coins were in circulation. The standard must have varied for the different periods and it might have been due to the change in the relative value of copper and silver. However we have no sufficient data to come to any definite conclusion ; though we should always keep in mind the statement that 'the various systems of weight used in India combine uniformity of scale with immense variations in the weight of units'.¹

The Audumbaras, the Kunindas and the Yaudheyas had the bimetallic system of silver and copper. The Vimakas and Vrishnis perhaps had the same system but up to this time only silver coins of these two tribes have been discovered. The copper coins in the case of the bimetallic tribes may be taken to be token coins. But in ancient times the intrinsic and the face value of the coins must have been almost identical ; otherwise a great scope would be given to the forgers to enrich themselves. When we consider the ease with which the ancient coins could be manipulated, it would have been not only foolish but highly detrimental to trade and commerce to allow any loophole to dishonest persons to secure undue gains. Consequently the weight of the token coins must vary with the variation in the relative price of the two metals, silver and copper.

In the first quarter of the 2nd century A.D. the ratio between gold and silver was 1:10² and there are reasons to believe that the ratio between silver and copper was 1:5.7³ ;

¹ Rapson, E. J.—Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc., p. CLXXXI—quoted from the Imperial Gazetteer of India.

² *Ibid.*, p. CLXXXV.

³ Chakraborty, S. K.—A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics, p. 87.

the average weight of the 8 silver coins of the Kunindas in Smith's catalogue is 32.6, while No. 12, a brass coin weighs 177 grs. and a copper coin No. 13 weighs 144 grs. We know that the copper coins suffer more from wear and tear; and we may take the copper coin approximately 5 times in weight and consequently equal in value to the contemporaneous silver hemi-drachms. So the inference that the copper coins were equal in value to the standard silver coin may be accepted and the other copper coins of lesser weight must be considered to be its sub-multiples. We know that the price of copper relative to silver cannot remain constant, it must vary with the variation in the ratio. As time went on copper must be cheaper, and more and more copper would be needed to equate a copper coin to the standard silver coin, of constant weight. So we can expect the later copper coins to be heavier in weight.

The Chatresvara type copper coins of the Kunindas (Smith—p. 170) are surely much later than the Amoghabhūti type coins which were in circulation from 150 B.C. to 100 A.D. The coin No. 36 (Smith's catalogue) weighs 221.6 and another in Cunningham's collection (Pl. V, fig. 5, p. 72) is 291 grs. in weight. If we take 291 grs. to be the unit, then the other is a $\frac{2}{3}$ th piece. It appears that by this time the Kunindas gave up the bimetallic system and struck to one metal viz. copper; the consequent difficulty was obviated by increasing the weight of the coins, which was more than double the original standard (Smith No. 13, and Cunningham, Pl. V, fig. 5).

The earliest class of Yaudheya coins—the Bull : Elephant Type—dates from the 'beginning of the Christian Era', when the Yaudheyas were habituated to the monometallism of copper. The heaviest of the 7 coins in Smith's catalogue (No. 4) weighs 71.1 grs. and in Cunningham's collection the heaviest was also 70 grs. So these two coins must be identified as Half-Kārshāpanas of 40 ratis each and the other coins may be deemed to be based upon the same standard. Bimetallicism was introduced with the Brahmanyadeva type coins of the 2nd century A.D. These are later than the Amoghabhūti type coins of the Kunindas. The silver hemi-drachm (Cunningham, Pl. VI, fig. 9) of the Yaudheyas weighs only 26 grs. and was lighter than the lightest Kuninda coin in Smith's catalogue (i.e. 30.8 grs.). The Yaudheya copper coins are however comparatively heavy; the heaviest No. 15 (Smith's cat.) weighs 178.5 grs. If this copper coin be equated to the silver hemi-drachm of 26 grs.; the ratio between silver and copper is found to be 1 : 6.8 which in the circumstances is the most reasonable conclusion. This increase in weight is continued in the copper Yaudheya coins of the Warrior type of the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. But as no silver coin of this type has yet been discovered, the conclusion is irresistible that like the Kunindas, the Yaudheyas also, after the 2nd century A.D. fell off from silver. It thus appears that the

Kuṇindas and the Yaudheyas who were already habituated to the bimetallism of silver and copper reverted to the older practice of issuing only in copper. This might be due to the paucity of silver and consequent increase in its price. But a consideration of the monetary condition of the time suggests another explanation which is plausible. The Kushan Emperors introduced the gold coinage in India and this was later adopted by the Imperial Guptas. So it is evident that from the second century India was being gradually acclimatised to the new system and the bimetallism of gold and copper was prevalent in the imperial territories. The poor tribal states were not rich enough to take up gold coinage in imitation of the Imperial coinage and the continuance of silver was a great hindrance and added an element of complexity to the merchants and others who had monetary transactions outside the individual tribal areas. So the simplest and the most convenient thing for them was to drop silver and to stick to copper which could be readily exchanged with the copper issues of the Kushans or linked up with the gold coinage of the Imperial power.

THE METALS.

Various metals and their alloys were used for the purpose of coinage. In ancient India, the earliest coins were of copper¹ but later on silver was also requisitioned for the purpose. Copper is found in ores throughout the country, though it is no longer extensively produced in India. But silver generally came from abroad and the production of this metal was very small indeed. Small quantities have been found though 'associated with lead, in Kūlū and Mānbhum, and at Deogurh in Santal Parganā'.² There is however no doubt that India had to depend mainly on foreign lands for her supply of silver. This is referred to in the *Periplus*³; and the relative price of silver was always high as compared with the West. The mint ratio between gold and silver in the Persian Empire was 1 : 13·3, while in India the ratio was 1 : 8.⁴ This naturally encouraged the importation of silver.

The tribal states naturally based their coinage on copper. Some of them—the Ārjunāyanas, Aśvakas, Kulūtas, Śibis, Uddehikas, Rājanyas, Nāgas, Mālavas and the Mahārāja Janapada confined themselves to copper only, and did not proceed to bimetallism, while the Audumbaras, the Kuṇindas and

¹ 'The most ancient Indian coins, I believe, are copper'—Smith's Catalogue, p. 133.

² Elliot, Sir Walter—Coins of Southern India, p. 51 (footnote No. 1).

³ Schoff, W. H.—The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, pp. 38, 42, 44 and 287.

⁴ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 343.

the Yaudheyas used both the metals side by side. The coins of the Vrishnis and the Vimakas are only in silver ; but the coins of these tribes are very rare and it may be that their coins in copper have not yet been discovered or identified. It is not possible that the Vrishnis and the Vimakas had only silver coins while all the neighbouring tribes and states had copper coins, alone or linked with silver. A monometallism of silver therefore seems to be economically unsound, and I have a strong suspicion that the Vrishnis and Vimakas had also a bimetallism of silver and copper, though our doubts can only be set at rest by new discoveries. It is however, well-known that in ancient India silver and copper coinages were often independent of each other and circulated in different districts. A copper currency was not necessarily regarded as merely auxiliary to silver currency ; but a copper standard prevailed in some districts as a silver standard prevailed in others'.¹

A certain amount of alloy is needed in the manufacture of coins. Kautilya lays down that silver coins should be manufactured with $\frac{5}{16}$ ths, i.e. 31.25 p.c. of alloy, and the copper coins with $\frac{1}{4}$ (pādajivam) i.e. 25 p.c. of alloy.² Cunningham however found by examining 113 silver Kārshāpaṇas³ that the alloy varied from 13.8 to 24.8. The amount of alloy perhaps depended upon the comparative prosperity of the state or tribe. The earliest Indian coins of silver, the Purāṇas or Dharaṇas contained about 20 p.c. of alloy.⁴ The easiest means of debasing the coinage is to increase the amount of alloy and this is generally due to the economic exigencies of the time (as in the reign of Skandagupta), or from the selfish greed of the ruling prince. But a consideration of the evil effects of debasement of coinage on trade would act as a check on the evil propensities of a prince.

The three coins from Almora have been ascribed by Prof. Rapson to a branch of the Kunindas. 'They appear to be of some alloy of silver and are heavier than any other Indian coins'.⁵ The increase in weight was perhaps necessitated by the large amount of alloy in these coins and it may be that the issuing authority did not take the trouble of purifying the metal or was unable to do so. Our ignorance of the amount of alloy and the ingredients used for the purpose makes it impossible for us to start a comparison between the coins of the different tribes and the coins of the same tribe in the different periods of its monetary history with a view to come to any conclusion about their economic condition. The different articles which were used as alloys for silver coins were according to

¹ Rapson—Cat. of Indian Coins—Andhras, etc., p. CLXXIX.

² Kautilya's Arthasāstra (trans. by Shāmaśāstry), pp. 98, 105 and 110.

³ Bhandarkar—Ancient Indian Numismatics, p. 157.

⁴ Smith's Catalogue, p. 133.

⁵ Rapson—Indian Coins, p. 10.

Kauṭilya,¹ tāmrā (copper), tikshṇa (iron), trapu (tin), sīsa (lead) and añjana (antimony). The commentator of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra lays down that the alloy for copper should be 'made up of 4 parts of silver, eleven parts of copper and one part of tikshṇa or any other metal'.² But it is doubtful whether silver was used for the purpose. It will only increase the value of the copper coin and the purpose might be as well served by other cheaper ingredients like tin etc. Brass is an alloy of copper and zinc usually in the proportion of 2 : 1 or 4 : 3, and a cheap alloy of copper and tin is Kaṁsā or bell-metal, much used in this country. A few specimens included in Smith's catalogue—viz. one Audumbara coin (No. 1), six Kupinda coins are of brass and four other Rājanya coins are either brass or pale bronze. We are not in a position to determine the relative purity of the coins of copper or silver and their alloys; and a chemical analysis of the contents of the Ancient Indian Coins is of urgent necessity for the Numismatists.

SHAPE, SIZE AND THE SYSTEM OF MANUFACTURE.

The punch-marked coins are of various shapes and sizes. There is uniformity in one point only viz. an attempt was made to approximate them to the standard weight. In shape, they were very irregular—polygonal, rectangular, square, circular and even triangular; and generally no attempts were made to have the sides straight or regular. This was due to the system of manufacture. A hammered sheet was sub-divided into strips and adjusted to the proper weight, sometimes by clipping the sides.³ As pointed out by Smith, the cutting of circular blanks from a metal sheet was more troublesome than cutting off short pieces of rectangular shape, and they are evidently simplest in form. It is therefore clear that practically no attention was paid to the shape of the coins and their size would vary according to the thickness of the metal sheet. Some of the copper pieces however might have been manufactured from cast blanks. Symbols were then punched into the blanks and the devices were 'incised and not in relief' and as a result 'stood wear well' and the coins remained long in circulation.

In the West, the Lydians were the first inventors of coinage.⁴ They began with globules or buttons of fused metal which were impressed with 'the rude unengraved punches, between which the ingot was placed to receive the blow of the hammer'. The

¹ Kauṭilya—Arthaśāstra (trans. by Shāmaśāstry), pp. 98, 105, 107 and 110.

² Kauṭilya—Arthaśāstra (trans. by Shāmaśāstry), pp. 98, 105, 107 and 110.

³ Whitehead, R. B.—The Pre-Mohammedan Coinage of North-western India, p. 40.

⁴ Macdonald, G.—The Evolution of Coinage, p. 6.

Greeks of Asia Minor introduced the next improvement when they 'substituted the engraved die for the primitive punches'.¹ The Indians became gradually familiar with the western coins and by the 5th century B.C. they imitated the Gorgon Type coins of Eretria (cf. the Rākshasa Type coins of Taxila),² and the Athenian 'owls' and the Persian 'sigloi' came to India in the course of commerce.³ Whether the Indians evolved the system of dies, independent of foreigners or adopted it from foreign countries is a subject of controversy among the numismatists.⁴ There is no reason why the Indians should not have hit upon this device in the course of evolutionary processes as in the West, though it is clear that in the Punjab region, the influence of the foreign system must have been considerable. Moreover no general statement can be made about the monetary condition of the whole country, for we find that even under the Mauryas, the punch-marked system prevailed in the eastern part of the country, while in the Taxila region the die system had contemporaneously come into use. So we can very well infer that in some parts of the country such as the Punjab, it was under the influence of the foreign coinage that the die system replaced the older practice of punching the coins. By the time the Northern Indian Tribes began to issue coins with regular devices and occasionally with inscriptions, they had definitely adopted the die system. At first the device was on one side only, but gradually the double-die system came into vogue. The dies were at first square or rectangular, the traditional shape of the indigenous Indian coins. Gradually however with the introduction of the circular shape for the coins, the dies also were shaped accordingly. This will be evident by a comparison of the two Aśvaka coins in Cunningham's Plate II, figs. 14 and 17.

The blanks were prepared either by casting the metal pieces or by hammering them, which were then die-struck either on one side or both. Another practice was to have the coins wholly cast; the devices being sunk in the moulds. In the Kuṇḍa coins we find the specimens of all the three processes. The general practice however was to have the coins die-struck on hammered blanks. At first however the device did not cover the whole face of the coin and 'the impress of the die is enclosed in a deep incuse square or circle' (cf. the Aśvaka coins Nos. 9, 10, 13 and 14—Pl. II, Cunningham).⁵ This is due to the fact that the coins were struck with dies in a semi-molten condition. It

¹ Head, B. V.—*Coins of the Ancients*, p. 1.

² Chakraborty, S. K.—*A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 212.

³ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 343, 386-390.

⁴ Bhandarkar, D. R.—*Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 40.

⁵ Rapson, E. J.—*Indian Coins*, p. 14.

is sometimes difficult to recognise the exact system of manufacture as regards individual coins.

Casting was a very old practice in India dating from the 5th century B.C.¹ and it was generally employed when the alloy was very poor and the blanks could not stand the shock of being struck by the hammer. The moulds as in other countries were perhaps of iron, stone, or in most cases terracotta, the latter having been found in several excavations. Sometimes a number of coins were manufactured at a single casting, the different forms being joined 'by narrow channels for the passage of the heated metal'.² The ancient dies were perhaps of bronze, iron or steel like those of the Greek or Roman times and it is evident that the two types on the two sides of the same coin are not parallel to each other but lie at an angle to one another. This proves that the two dies were not held together in a hinge.

The chief means of depreciating the coinage was to increase the amount of alloy by the state, thereby bringing down the real value below the face value. The coins of brass or pale bronze, many specimens of which are included (in Smith's catalogue) among the Rājanya and Kuṇḍa coins, are perhaps the result of a conscious attempt at depreciation. But this practice could easily be detected and a clever device was sometimes employed viz. of plating the coins. Copper coins were dipped in silver and passed off as silver coins. It is doubtful whether this device was adopted by the state, or dishonest forgers were guilty of such a practice. This was a very easy method of deception but the old bankers always tested the coins by striking them with a sharp piece of metal. As a result many coins are found covered with shroff-marks which interfere with the correct reading of the legends or proper identification of the type. This practice seems to have been very prevalent during the Pathan period.

The Aśvaka coins and a specimen of the Uddehika coins are single-die struck, the rev. being blank; consequently these are likely to be older than the other tribal coins which were double-die struck. This new system of manufacture gradually stereotyped the shape of the coins as circular. The traditional rectangular shape gave place to the circular, the angular corners being always an inconvenience. The transition is exemplified by the specimens of the Aśvaka coins. The earlier ones (Nos. 9, 11 and 14) are rectangular or roughly square, while the latest (No. 17, Cunningham, Pl. II) is circular. The coins of the Audumbaras, the Kulūtas, the Kuṇḍas and their branch located near Almora, the Sibis, the Vimakas, the Vṛishnis, the Uddehikas, the Rājanyas, the Mahārāja Janapada, the Nāgas and the Yaudheyas issued circular coins only. The Mālavas

¹ Brown, C. J.—The Coins of India, p. 18.

² Cunningham, Sir A.—Coins of Ancient India, Pl. I, figs. 24 and 25.

however could not shake off their fascination for the rectangular or square shape. They issued circular coins, side by side, with rectangular ones of a very irregular shape. The square shape however now and then asserted itself even up to the late Muslim times. We have square coins of the Malwa Sultans, of Shah Jahan and of Rājeswara, king of Assam in the 18th century A.D. (1751–1769 A.D.). But the comparative ease with which the circular coins were manufactured under the die system gradually led to the supplanting of the older shape, and the commonest shape for coins became circular in India also. The Mālavas had some circular coins too (Smith's catalogue—Pl. XX and XXI) but it is evident that generally they did not care much about regularity of shape (cf., Pl. XX, Nos. 15, 16, 17 and 24 and Pl. XXI, Nos. 2, 3, 4 etc.).

The size of the coins was not uniform. The standard coins were generally .6 to .7 inch in diameter, except those of the Mālavas and the Nāgas. The three Ārjunāyana coins (C. CAL., p. 89 and S. CCIM., p. 166) are .6 to .65 and .67 in diameter, the circular Aśvaka coin in Smith's catalogue has a diameter of .9 inch; and the Audumbara coins varied from .6 to .75, the silver coin (Cunningham, Pl. IV, fig. 1) had a diameter of .7 inch. The Kulūta coin (Cunningham, Pl. IV, fig. 14) is .75. The silver coins of the Kuṇindas varied from .65 to .75 inch, while the copper coins from .6 to 1.12 inch. Nos. 13 and 36 in Smith's catalogue are the largest pieces, one being 1.12, the biggest in the collection and the other of Chatreśvara type 1.01 inch in diameter. The coin of the Mahārāja Janapada (Cunningham, Pl. IV, fig. 11) has a diameter of .75 inch, while that of the Vimakas (Cunningham, Pl. IV, fig. 6) is .7. The Vṛishṇi coin (Cunningham, Pl. IV, fig. 15) is .6. The Rājanya coins had a diameter from .65 to .83. The Yaudheya coins are generally big in shape. The Bull: Elephant type coins of the Yaudheyas in Smith's catalogue are .7 to .8 inch; the Brahmanya type from .97 to 1.12 inch and the latest of the Yaudheya coins are generally big, from .9 to 1.05 (Smith No. 25). It therefore appears that the later coins are generally bigger in shape and heavier in weight. The coins of the Mālavas and the Nāgas, however stand by themselves. The Nāga coins in Smith's catalogue varied in size from .3 to .45 inch only. The Mālava coins hold the record for their diminutive size and it is strange how they remained in circulation for centuries. These coins were 'confined to Nāgar and the immediate neighbourhood',¹ and testify to the low economic condition of the people and perhaps want of commercial intercourse with the neighbouring peoples and tribes. Some of the coins are mediocre in size e.g. No. 3 in Smith's catalogue is .62 in diameter, but the vast majority are very small and are generally only $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch.

¹ Smith, V. A.—Catalogue of Coins in I.M., p. 162.

One of the Mālava coins in the Indian Museum in Calcutta is only .2 inch in diameter and 1.7 grs. in weight and 'it may claim the honour of being one of the smallest coins in the world'.¹

THE LEGENDS.

The Types or devices on the coins came to be gradually accompanied by inscriptions. At first the legends occupied a subordinate position, but later on they sometimes supplanted the types. There is no doubt that the inscriptions came to be put on the coins for the purpose of 'explaining or interpreting the device'. The earliest inscribed coin in the West was found at Halicarnassus.² This electrum coin was perhaps struck at Ephesus in the 6th century B.C. It bears a legend meaning—'I am the badge of Phanes', round the Type of a feeding Stag. So it is evident that the legend has a reference to the badge; but sometimes the reference is to the coin itself.

The coin-legends have preserved for us the names of kings and tribes of whom we have no other record, and we derive much help not only in reconstructing the dynastic lists and in determining the chronology but also in fixing 'the geographical extent of the ruling powers'.³ The Vimakas and their king Rudravarma, the Audumbara king Dharaghosha, the Kulūta king Virayaśa and many others are known only from the coins.

The earliest inscribed coins of India date from the 3rd century B.C. The chronology is determined mainly on palæographical considerations. In some of the *sigloi*, dating from the 4th century B.C. or earlier certain characters have been read as Brāhmī and Kharoshthī letters.⁴ But full inscriptions are found on the coins of the Aśvakas and the Uddehikas dating from the 3rd century B.C. e.g. *Vatasvaka* (coin of the Aśvakas) *Udehaki* (Prince of the Uddehikas). Among the Aśvakas, this innovation is clearly marked. In No. 14 (Pl. II, Cunningham) we have the Type—'A Human Figure with two Hill Symbols on two sides', but in No. 17 (Pl. II—Cunningham) the Hill Symbols on the two sides are arranged one above the other, the human figure with a *svastika* below is placed on the right, and the left field is filled with the inscription in bold and clear Brāhmī letters. The coin of Upagaḍa with the legends *Upagaḍasa* in early Brāhmī script is according to Bühler at least as old as 350–400 B.C. or before the Mauryas. Inscriptions dating from the 3rd century B.C. are found in the coins of Ayodhyā, Mathurā and Tripurī:—*Visākhadevasa* (of Visākha-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

² Head, B. V.—The Coins of the Ancients, p. 4 (No. 7).

³ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 61.

⁴ Rapson, E. J.—Indian Coins, p. 3.

deva) in Ayodhyā; *Upātikyā* in Mathurā and *Tripurī* (in modern Tewar). The earliest inscribed coin from Ujjain dates from the 2nd century B.C., the legend being *Ujeniye*—‘of Ujjain’, the name of the city in its Prākṛit form. So it is evident that legends began to appear in Indian coins in the 4th century B.C. and became common in the 3rd century B.C. In this connection the question arises whether the practice was indigenous or of foreign origin. Prof. Rapson is of opinion that legends on Indian coins appear as the result of Greek influence in the north-west.¹ We know that the Athenian, Seleucid and Bactrian coins came to this country in the course of commerce and coins of Alexander and Philip Arrhidaeus² have been excavated recently at Taxila. When we take this in connection with the fact that the mighty Maurya Emperors went on with the traditional system of punch-marked coins without inscriptions, a strong presumption naturally arises that they looked upon inscribed coins as a foreign innovation. Prof. Rapson thus seems to be substantially correct in taking the inscriptions on Indian coins as due to foreign influence.

The legends assume various forms—(a) genitive of a tribal or denominational, (b) personal or (c) place name; and the reference is to the nation or tribe, the king or the place named. On rare occasions the reference is undoubtedly to the Type or device. To the first class pertain the following legends—*Arjunāyanāna* (of the Ārjunāyanas), *Mahārāja Janapadasa* (of Mahārāja Janapada), *Mālavaganasya* (of the Mālava gana) *Mālavānām* (of the Mālavas), *Rājajña Janapadasa* (of the Rājanya Janapada), *Yodheyāna* i.e. Yaudheyānām (of the Yaudheyas), *Odumbarisa* (of the Audumbaras) etc. In some cases we have a reference to the chief town of the tribe e.g. *Majhimikāya Sibi Janapadasa* (of the tribe of the Sibis of Madhyamikā), or a reference to the province where they dwelt e.g. *Bhūpadhamusha* (of the Lord of the Desert) in the Yaudheya coins pointing out the region where the tribe was located. In the second class, we have the legends—*Sivadatasa* (of Sivadatta), *Raño Ajamitrasa* (of king Ajamitra), *Raño Mahimitrasa*, (of king Mahimitra), *Magaḥasa* (abb. for Mahārāja Gajasa (of Mahārāja Gaja), *Maharāja Śrī Deva Nāgasya* (of Mahārāja Deva Nāga) etc. To the third class, we may relegate such legends as—*Kaḍasa* (of Kaḍa), *Upagodasa* (of Upagauḍa), *Ujeniye* (of Ujjain) etc. Though the ordinary practice is to have the tribal, personal or place names in the genitive, there are many cases where the names are in the nominative e.g. tribal name—*Malaya*, *Mālaya* or *Malava*, personal names—*Mala*, perhaps the name of a king—the founder of the Mālava tribe, the names of the Mālava kings or chiefs—*Bhapaṇyana* or *Bhampāyana*, *Yama* or *Maya*,

¹ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 61.

² *Archæological Survey of India*, 1924-25, pp. 47 and 48.

Jamapaya, *Paya*, *Mapaka* (Mahārāja Paka?), *Magachha* (Mahārāja Gachha?) and others, and Mahārāja *Sri Gaṇendra* of the Nāgas etc.; place names—*Tripurī* and others. In the case of the Uddehikas the legend is peculiar; the prince of the tribe is referred to by a noun which is ultimately derived from the tribal name e.g. *Udehaki* (the Prince of the Uddehikas). The legend is thus connected with the coin 'in some vague sort of way'. While ordinarily we find the inscription by the side of the type, in the case of the Mālavas, perhaps for want of space, due to the small size of Malava coins, the legends appear on one side, and the Type on the other. In some of the coins of the Āśvakas and the Yaudheyas, the legends directly refer to the coins themselves e.g. *Vatasvaka* meaning the coin (*vaṭa*) of the Āśvakas or in the Yaudheya coins—*Brahmanyadevasya drama* (the drama or coin of Brahmanyadeva) i.e. dedicated to the tribal god Kārttikeya, whose figure serves as the type and appears by the side of the inscription.

The Audumbaras, the Kulūtas, the Kunindas, the Vimakas and the Vṛishnis had their tribal names as well as the names of the ruling princes side by side in the legends e.g. the Audumbara legend.—'Mahadevasa Rājā Dharaghoshasa Odumbarisa'; the names of the two kings Rudradāsa and Śivadāsa spelt as Rudradasa and Śivadasa are introduced in the legends without any change. The Kulūta inscription is 'Rājā Kolūtasya Virayaśasya' (of king Virayaśas, the Kolūta); the reference might be to the coin or the Wheel Type by its side. Similar might be the interpretation of the Kuninda inscription which we may take to refer to the coin or the Type—'Amaghabhutasa maharajasa rājā Kunadasa', (coin of Amoghabhūti Mahārāja, Rājā of the Kunindas). The Vṛishnis had a peculiar legend—'Vṛishni Rājajñā gaṇasya tratarasya' (of the Vṛishni Rājanya (and) Gaṇa—the Protector of the country—Jayaswal).¹ Here the head of the state is not referred to by name but by the official title *Rājanya*. The descriptive word *tratarasya* is rather unique, perhaps borrowed from the legends of some of the Indo-Greek kings who took the title of Soter—Apollodotos, Diodotus II, Diomedes, Dionisios, Hermaios, Minander and Nikias. In the coins of Diomedes the reverse legend is *Maharajasa tratarasa Diyamedasa*,² or *Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatasa*³ in the coins of Apollodotos; and similar such legends of other kings who were perhaps contemporaries with the Vṛishnis.

In some cases the legends refer to the patron saint or the national god whose figures appear by the side of the inscriptions. In one class of the Audumbara coins, we have the full legend and across the field *Viśpamitra* (Viśvāmitra) which refers

¹ *JRAS.*, 1900, p. 416 (A. V. Bergny); *J.H.P.I.*, p. 157.

² Smith, V. A.—Catalogue of Coins in I.M., p. 16.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

to the standing figure of the Rishi, with right hand raised and the left resting on the waist. Evidently Viśvāmitra was the patron saint of the Audumbaras. There are also some coins which are dedicated to the national gods by the tribes concerned. The Elephant and Bull Type coins of the Audumbaras have the legend—*Bhagavato Mahādevasa Rājarājasa*—‘in the name of the Almighty Mahādeva, the king of kings’. The Chatreśvara Type coins of the Kuṇindas are dedicated to the national god Mahādeva in the form of Chatreśvara. On the *obv.* we have Śiva facing with Trisūl in right hand and leopard skin hanging from the left arm, and Brāhmī legend ‘*Bhāgavata Chatreśvara Mahātmanah*’—‘of the Almighty Mahādeva (Chatreśvara), the great-souled’ there being evident connection between the legend and the Type. The Yaudheyas were warriors per excellence and Brahmanyadeva or Kārttikeya, the War-god was taken by them as their national god, and some of their coins were dedicated to him. The Brahmanyadeva Type coins have on the *obv.* the six-headed god (Kārttikeya) standing on lotus, facing with left hand on hip, and right hand raised and a barbed spear on the left; the full legend is *Bhāgavataḥ svāmīno Brahmanyadevasya*. ‘Of the Divine Lord Brahmanyadeva’. In some specimens *Brahmanyadevasya* is replaced by *Kumārasya*, Kumāra being another name of Kārttikeya and all our doubts about the dedication of these coins to the War-god Kārttikeya are set at rest. So it is evident that whenever there was any risk of being misunderstood, the die-engraver added a descriptive title to clear up the point. In Rome and in some Greek cities, the statues of divinities had their names attached. The best known example is Kimon’s Arethusa in the fine Syracusan coins of c. 400 B.C. In the tribal coins however we do not meet with the portraits of the ruling chiefs; evidently portrait heads had not yet come into use, though in the west the heads of the kings were already introduced on the obverse.

Another class of legends are put up on the coins as the mottos of the different tribes—*Arjunāyanana Jaya*, ‘Victory to the Arjunāyanas, *Mālavānām Jaya* etc., *Mālavagaṇasya Jaya*, ‘Victory to the Mālava gaṇa’, *Yadhayagaṇasya jaya* i.e. Yaudheya gaṇasya jaya or ‘Victory to the Yaudheya gaṇa. In some of the Yaudheya coins occur the numerals *Dvi* and *Tri* in letters and not in figures. These are supposed to refer specifically to the 2nd and the 3rd clans of the Yaudheyas who were obviously divided into three sections.

When the legends first came into use the coins were generally of the single die variety. Consequently the die-engraver had two courses left to him, either to put the inscription by the side of the Type, or to shift it on the reverse to stand by itself, the latter alternative being perhaps the later practice. In the Aśvaka coin (Cunningham, Pl. II, No. 17), the inscription—*Vaṭasvaka* is put horizontally on the left hand side in the place

of one of the Hill Symbols. We find the same practice in the early coins of the 2nd or 3rd century B.C. e.g. in Mathurā, the coin with the legend, *Upātikyā*, below the *Svastika* Symbol; in the Tripurī coin, the legend—*Tripurī* accompanied by the 3 symbols *Svastika*, River and Hill; in the Upagaṇḍa coin, the legend *Upagaṇḍa* with the symbols 'circle' and 'nandipada'—in all these cases the reverse is blank. In a coin from Eran, occurs the legend alone without any Type, and the arrangement of the letters is peculiar—these are arranged from right to left, and this coin is supposed by some of the scholars to be the oldest inscribed coin in India as the letters in the legend *Dhamapālāsa* are in a very ancient Brāhmī script. The second device is found in a coin from Ujjain of the 2nd century B.C.—the Elephant on the obv. and the legend on the rev.—*Ujēniye* (of Ujjain); the reference might be to the coin or the Elephant which was perhaps the badge of the city. Many such cases occur in the Mālava coins e.g. in No. 13 (Smith's catalogue), the legend covers the obv., and on the rev. occurs a Vase (lotā) in dotted circle. This practice is found in the coins included by Smith in Groups 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6, and also in class B. coins, with the names of chiefs on the obv., and on the rev. the Lion, Elephant, Humped Bull, and other Types.

In some cases, the Mālavas divided the legend in two parts and placed them on the two sides of the coins. One part of the legend stood by itself, while on the other side, the second part was accompanied by a Type or Symbols. But in a few cases, there are Types or Symbols on both the sides and the inscription is divided between the two. The coin No. 1 in Smith's catalogue has on the obv. the word *Jaya* and on the rev. *Mālavānām* accompanied by two symbols; No. 11 has on the obv. Hill symbol and the legend *Jaya*; and on the rev. two symbols with the legend *Mālavāṇa*. The Mālavas were perhaps compelled to adopt this device on account of the small size of the coins, and this will also explain the irregular arrangement of the letters of the inscriptions. Sometimes they are arranged in a circle or in two lines, or two groups of letters are placed on the two sides of the same Type. But on bigger coins the legend is arranged in a circle round the principal Type on the obv. e.g. among the Arjunāyanas, the Kuṇindas (Chatreśvara Type), the Rājanyas, Yaudheyas and others. The Audumbaras, the Kuṇindas (Amoghahbūti Type), the Kulūtas, the Mahārāja Janapada, the Vimakas, the Vṛishnis had the same legend on both the sides—in Brāhmī alphabet on one side and in Kharoshthī on the other; and the legends are arranged in a circle round the Types or Symbols. The coins with only legends on both the sides, without any Type or Symbol are very rare—one circular coin is reproduced in Cunningham, Pl. II, No. 21 and rectangular ones in Pl. III, Nos. 8 and 10. While in the first one the same legend occurs on both the sides, in the two others occur the word

Negamā on one side and their names on the other viz. *Tālimata* and *Dojaka*.

The coins under discussion are not dated, the only means of determining the approximate Chronology being the forms of the letters and the language of the inscriptions. A study of the language and the alphabets used in the legends enables us to determine the approximate chronology of the coins and the rulers and tribes named therein. There is no doubt that the Brāhmī alphabet was in general use throughout the country. This was the alphabet in use among the *Ārjunāyanas*, the *Mālavas*, the *Nāgas*, the *Aśvakas*, the *Sibis*, the *Uddehikas* and the *Yaudheyas*. Brāhmī accompanied by *Kharoshthī* on the other side is found among the *Audumbaras*, *Kuṇindas* (*Amoghabhūti* Type), *Kulūtas*, *Vimakas* and *Vṛishnis*, while in the coins of the *Rājanya* and *Mahārāja Janapada* and some of the *Kuṇinda* coins, the two alphabets are not used together in the same coin but some have only Kh. and others Br. The Indian home of Kh. lay in 'eastern Afghanistan and in the north of the Punjab',¹ but it appears side by side with the Br. 'as far as *Bhawalpur* in S-W, *Mathura* in the S. and *Kāngrā* in S-E'. It is said to be derived from the Aramaic script² and was introduced in this country perhaps in the 6th century B.C. when the Punjab was under the Persian Rule. In the third century B.C. the Asokan inscriptions in the North-West region were in Kh. In the meantime the alphabet had been modified and additional sounds to represent the Indian languages had been introduced; but the result was not fully satisfactory. This is evident from the bilingual legends of the *Audumbaras* viz. *bhuguvusa mahadevusa rajaraña*. There is no doubt that the tribes using Kh. and Br. alphabets simultaneously in their coin-legends lived in the border region between the two districts using Br. and Kh. as their regular alphabets. A Chronological clue is afforded by the Kh. legends in the tribal coins. Prof. Rapson points out that in the bilingual coins, the legends became curtailed with the lapse of time.³ At first the Kh. inscription is full but it is gradually curtailed, though the Br. legend remains complete on the other side. In the *Kulūta* coin of the 1st or 2nd century A.D. the Br. legend—*Rājña Kolū-tasya Virayaśasya* on the obv. is complete, but on the rev. occurs only the title *Raña* and the rest of the legend is omitted. A reference to the *Kuṇinda* coins (*Chatreśvara* Type) shows that by the 2nd century A.D., Brāhmī asserted itself and by the 3rd century A.D. Kh. fell completely into disuse, though recent

¹ Rapson, E. J.—Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc., p. CIV.

² *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 62.

³ *JRAS.*, 1900—Rapson—"The *Kulūtas*, a people of Northern India".

discoveries at Taxila clearly prove that 'it was in use there until at least the middle of the 5th century A.D.'¹

At first the language of the inscriptions was Prakrit or the popular dialect of the time ; of which the chief characteristic was the avoidance of 'harsh consonantal combinations' e.g.—*Ujjenīye*, 'of Ujjain' ; *Vaṭasvaka*, (*Aśvakānām Vataḥ*) ; *Yodheyana* (*Yaudheyānām*) ; *Majhimikāya Sibi Janapadasa* ; *Mālavāna Jaya*, *Mālavāna Jaya* etc. ; *Raṇa Kuṇḍasa Amoghabhatisa Maharajasa* and such others. But by the second century A.D., the legends were generally in classical Sanskrit. The change from Prakrit to Sanskrit is found among the Mālavas and the Yaudheyas. The *Mālavāna Jaya* or its variants *Mālavahna Jaya* etc. gave way to *Mālavānām Jaya* or *Yodheyana* is replaced by *Brahmanyadevasya drama* or partially sanskritised form *Yadhayaṇasya Jaya*. Legends in correct classical Sanskrit is very rare. The tribes at first put the legends in the popular dialect but gradually adopted classical Sanskrit for the purpose. Mr. Bergny gives some Sanskrit forms for the old Prakrit ones, found on the coins. But the attempt seems to be an intellectual gymnastics, for it is sure that the classical forms were never in use and the literary language was later than the various forms of Prakrit used in the legends of the coins. But the linguistic changes have some chronological value and are an additional help in the determination of chronological sequence of the coins under discussion.

THE SYMBOLS.

Prof. Rapson points out that in ancient Indian Numismatics, there is no permanent distinction between Types and Symbols. 'In regard both to their origin and their use they probably had much in common, and the terms are often applied to the same designs according to the relative position of predominance or insignificance which they seem to occupy on a coin'.² The symbols which generally occurred in the punch-marked coins are found repeated in the later coins ; and one of them occupies a prominent place and is taken as the Type ; the others are regarded as symbols.

It is true that 'in their essence they are heraldic',³ but their origin is generally shrouded in mystery. We have two words *Aṅka* and *Lakṣhaṇa* associated with Saṅghas in Pāṇini. Jayaswal takes the *Lakṣhaṇa* to be the *Lāṅchhana* or 'heraldic crest of later Sanskrit', and as a result of his discussion, he takes the *lakṣhaṇa* to be the 'royal' or 'state' mark, and the *aṅka* 'the individual mark' of a prince, and may mean even the legend or

¹ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 657.

² Rapson E. J.—*The Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, etc., p. CLXXV.

³ Macdonald, G.—*The Evolution of Coinage*, p. 76.

the motto adopted by a ruler'.¹ The *lakshana* is therefore to be taken as the State Symbol and as it occupied the prominent place—the 'Type, while the *aṅka* which varied with the heads of the State, was the individual mark of the ruler, and consequently occupied a subordinate position and may be denominated a 'Symbol'. There is no reason to take the legend as the *Aṅka*, though sometimes, it might take the place of a Symbol and serve its purpose. The main distinction seems to be that *lakshana* is *national* and *aṅka* *personal* in significance.

In the earlier stage when the punch-marked coins were in circulation, the symbols impressed upon them had various significance. Mr. Walsh after a detailed discussion about the punch-marked coins discovered at Patna and Ghoroghat formulates his opinion as follows 'It may be suggested, to account for a constant group of marks, that one mark may represent the state, one the reigning king, one the place where the coin was struck, and perhaps one a religious mark recognising the presiding deity; also the master of the mint may have had his mark, which would fix his responsibility for the coin, and the additional varying marks may have been those of the *Sanghas*, village communities, in which the coin was current, affixed at the time the *rupiya* or the local tax on it was levied on its admission to circulation in that jurisdiction. And the various and unsystematic punches on the reverse would appear to have been the marks of private shroffs and moneyers through whose hands the coin passed in the course of circulation'.² If we had only a clue to the significance of these symbols, we would have been in a position not only to identify the coins and their provenance but also the rulers to whom they are to be ascribed. On occasions, however, in spite of the obscurity about the origin and significance of the coin-symbols, it is possible to determine 'whether their use was local, dynastic or personal—that is to say, whether they were intended to denote some particular locality, some particular family of rulers or some particular ruler'.³

The significance of all the symbols used, cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge, and it is doubtful whether the past will yield up the result so much sought after. But these symbols are of great importance to us 'as authoritative records of the symbolism—religious, mythological and astronomical current throughout India for many centuries'.⁴ The number as enumerated by Mr. Theobald was more than three hundred and new discoveries have increased it appreciably. So the total is about 400, though one and the same symbol

¹ J. HP. I., pp. 43 and 44.

² Walsh, E. H. C.—Cent Sup. JRAS., 1924, p. 184.

³ Rapson, E. J.—The Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, p. CLXV.

⁴ Smith, V. A.—Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, p. 131.

might have been represented in different ways in the various coins.

Theobold classified the symbols under six heads¹: (I) human figure; (II) implements, arms and works of men, including the *stūpa* or *chaitya*, bow and arrow, etc. (III) animals; (IV) trees, branches and fruit; (V) symbols connected with solar, planetary or Sivite Worship; (VI) miscellaneous and unknown'. This classification is however superficial and does not take into account the import or real significance of the devices employed. They were the *aṅkas* or emblems of the different states or tribes, but the main point for determination is the reason that led to the adoption of a certain device by a particular people. It may be possible in the case of some of the states, but in the majority of cases our information is not complete. The Udumbara tree in the coins of the Audumbaras is a 'Canting Badge' of the tribe concerned (i.e. a punning allusion to the name of the tribe), the 'Warrior' in the Yaudheya coins represents military prowess, Brahmanyadeva in others was evidently their national God, like Athena in Athens; the Bull or Elephant signifies power, the trident or umbrella denotes empire, or royal dignity, the Vajra or thunderbolt and Spear stood for 'armed might', and so on. To unravel the mystery, where it is possible, requires a reference to ancient architecture, sculpture and ancient records on stone or copper i.e. epigraphic materials.

The 'canting badges' were very common. This practice prevailed to some extent in the West. Cunningham gives a number of examples in India but many more may be pointed out. The punning allusions may lie to the (a) state or tribe, (b) the name of the King or ruling chief, or (c) private individuals like mint-masters: (a) a calf (Sk. Vatsa) by the Vatsas; an armed soldier (Sk. Yoddhā) by the Yaudheyas, Udumbara tree by the Audumbaras; a snake (Sk. Ahi) by Ahicchatra etc.; (b) among the Kings of Pañchāla this practice was very popular e.g. the God Agni, a male figure with five-rayed head in the coins of Agnimitra, the Sun in the coins of Bhānumitra (Sk. Bhānu, the Sun), the image of God Indra in the coins of Indramitra or the constellation Phalguni in the coins of Phalgunimitra; (c) 'the Sun' for Sūryadās; a 'Snake' for Nāga Sen; and an 'Elephant' for Gaḍa Sinh. Bir Deo might have had a 'soldier', Gopāl a Bull, and Khajur Varma a 'Palm' tree (Khajur).² Such examples can be easily multiplied.

Another class of symbols has to be referred to certain peculiar features of the land to which the coins belonged i.e. a certain Hill, River or Lake. The so-called *Chaitya* is nothing but the *Hill Symbol* and the system of representation of a Hill by a number of semi-circles, or circular balls, arranged in rows

¹ *Ibid.*

² Cunningham, Sir A.—Coins of Ancient India, pp. 56–58

above one another and tapering to a point is also found outside India, for example, in Crete.¹ We are indebted to Dr. Bhandarkar for this identification. Naturally the treatment varied in the case of the different tribes or states. Each had a variety of this symbol which had an intimate connection with the locality which could consequently be easily identified. It may be that the Hill that appeared in the coins was perhaps the chief characteristic of the locality, or specially connected with the national life of the people concerned. The Áśvakas had two Hill symbols in their coins, represented in two different ways, and therefore may be supposed to stand for two Hills which were situated in their territory, or recognised as sacred by them. One Hill has been characterised as a pile of Balls—10 Balls arranged in four rows, one row above the other, the number of balls diminishing by one. The other Hill symbol is of three semi-circles, one above the other two, the whole surmounted by a crescent. The various forms that this symbol took may be seen in the Ghoroghat coins.² A curved line is also found on many coins. But it is difficult to identify it correctly in all cases. The zigzag line may stand for a river or a snake, and sometimes it may serve merely an ornamental purpose. Identification is possible, specially when it occurs with a Hill Symbol. In that case, the Hill and the River are the special local features. The zigzag line in the Áśvaka coins surely stands for a river, but it is evident that the Audumbaras and the Kunindas used this device merely for ornamental purposes. In the majority of the cases, the symbol stands for a river on which perhaps the capital stood, or which was deemed sacred by the people, or happened to be the most important means of communication. In some of the coins, the river is represented by two curved lines with fish between.

Another class of symbols refers to the majesty of the State. The chief example is the Three-Umbrellas³ symbol in which the three umbrellas are bound together in the middle. The Umbrella (*chhatra*) is always an insignia of royalty and signified the majesty of the state. Another symbol which is generally identified with the Sun is really the *Chakra* (discus),⁴ and stands to signify the authority of the state. The national Standards also figure in the coins. The Audumbaras appear to be very fond of their tribal insignia and three different varieties are employed by them. In their Viśvāmitra type coins, occurs their national standard—a trident battle-axe i.e. a Triśūla and Axe combined. In the Elephant: Temple type there are two

¹ Cotterill—Ancient Greece (Earth Goddess and Lions from Crete), p. 50.

² *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Dec., 1919, pl. III, Nos. 3-3c.

³ *Ibid.*, Nos. 1-1e.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 2.

pillars on the two sides of the temple, the left one has a Swastika on it, and the right one is surmounted by what appears to be a wheel with 'pendant garlands'. The association of these two symbols with a temple, stamp them with a religious character, and they were perhaps looked upon as objects of veneration. The Yaudheyas had also their national standard figuring in their Bull : Elephant type coins.

Hinduism declares 'the ultimate truth to be unknowable and undefinable' and endeavours to approach reality by the use of 'suggestive type or symbol'.¹ Consequently Hinduism makes much use of symbolism. The most numerous section of coin-symbols has some kind of religious significance. The symbols stand for (I) national deities or patron saints, (II) their vehicles (Vāhanas)—birds or animals, (III) their special weapons, or (IV) objects or trees specially sacred to them. The Vāhanas are the symbols of the presence and power of the Gods e.g. Hamsa or goose of Brahmā, Makara of Varuṇa, Garuḍa of Viṣṇu, the peacock of Kārttikeya, the deer of Vāyu, the elephant Airāvata of Indra, the buffalo and the dogs of Yama, the Monkey of Hanumān and the Bull of Śiva. The Trisūla is sacred to Śiva, the emblem of his authority, and the crescent on his head stands for his sovereign power, the *chakra*, *gadā* (club) and the *conch-shell* are sacred to Viṣṇu, and *Vajra* or Thunderbolt to Indra and so on. The Tulasi tree is sacred to Viṣṇu, Bael and Dhuturā flower to Śiva and lotus to Lakshmi and Saraswatī.²

The animals play a very important part in the Vedic Mythology and religious ideas. The horse draws the cars of the Gods in the R̥gveda and is regarded as an object of worship. The cow assuredly occupies a prominent position in Vedic Mythology and is regarded as sacred in the R̥gveda and is referred to as *aghnyā* 'not to be slain'. The goat draws the car of Pūshan, the ass of the Asvins, and the other animals referred to, are the dogs of Yama and the monkey Vrishakapi, the favourite of Indra. Prajāpati assumed the form of a boar in the Yajurveda and the tortoise came to have a semi-divine position in later Vedas. Ahi, the serpent is the form taken by the demon-Vitra—the enemy of Indra. Snake therefore stands for evil power. Inanimate objects were also deified and treated as deities in the Vedas'. Mountains along with rivers and plants are frequently invoked as gods. Large trees-Vanaspati or lords of the forest are also addressed as gods, the sacrificial implements, the most important of which is the sacrificial post, the weapons like bow, quiver, arrows etc. are deified.³ The wheel or *chakra* represents the Sun and is the weapon of one of the solar Gods-Viṣṇu.

¹ *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XII, p. 141 (Symbolism).

² *Ibid.*, pp. 42 and 43.

³ *Ibid.*, (Vedic Religion), p. 609.

Plant forms are portrayed in the seals from Mahenjodaro and Harappā, and two of them the Pipal and Babul tree have been identified.¹ The tree cult was very common in ancient India. 'The sacred tree signified universally in primitive ages the presence of the deity'. Different gods came to be associated with different trees. Each Buddha had his own tree; Gautama attained enlightenment under the Pipal tree which is sacred to him. That the tree symbols in ancient Indian coins had a religious significance is attested to by the railing which is always put around, and marks it off as a holy ground, and the tree as an object of special regard. The identification of trees represented in Indian coins is no doubt difficult but it is sure that they were connected with the religious belief of the people concerned. It is to be marked that the practice of putting in railings around a sacred object was common in India e.g. the stūpas, sacred places and trees are always enclosed in architecture and sculpture.

Certain objects are looked upon as specially auspicious in character and they find a place in the coins. These are generally linear and whatever might be the origin, they became so intimately connected with the national life that these symbols are found in works of architecture and sculpture as well as in coins; and were used at the time of religious festivals and on such happy occasions as marriage, birth of a son and so on. The symbols like Swastika, Nandipada and others are very common on coins, in works of sculpture etc. from high antiquity. The circle, the square, the triangle, the dot or dots arranged in various ways, and the geometrical patterns had surely, certain significance; and for their interpretation, we have to take the help of the esoteric side of religion, e.g. a point or dot is the geometric symbolism of God, the Absolute and Unknowable; the equilateral triangle is 'the symbol of God manifested in the cosmos'; the spiral is 'the geometric symbol of evolutionary force' and similar interpretations may be found in the case of many such geometrical or linear symbols. (Havell's—*The Ideals of Indian Art*).

Of the linear symbols, the Swastika is the best known and is even now recognised as an auspicious sign. We find it in the seals discovered in the prehistoric sites of the Indus Valley civilization'.² It is found in use in many parts of the ancient world e.g. in Crete, Troy, Susa etc. but not in Babylon or Egypt. It is undoubtedly a solar symbol; and of the various theories that have been propounded to explain its origin, the interpretation of Mr. Havell seems to be the most convincing. The Swastika represents the movement of the sun round the earth; and the earth owes its fertility to its beneficent powers. Man ultimately

¹ *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, March, 1932.

Mohenjo-daro and Indus Valley Civilization, pp. 133, 140.

² *Ibid.*, p. 130.

derives his happiness and prosperity to the visible daily passage of the sun through the heavens. The arms of the Swastika are sometimes represented curved, but the ordinary and perhaps the later practice, was to have straight lines as arms, going round from left to right; and this direction was in use in later times. The opposite form from right to left, was looked upon as inauspicious. But at Mahenjodaro, no such feeling seems to have existed. This solar emblem of high antiquity proves the tenaciousness of human belief; and it was in common use in architecture (in town planning), in sculpture, in coinage and in religious festivities. In short it entwines itself with the spiritual and artistic life of the people. Lastly we have a number of symbols which were accepted as *Aṅkas* or *Lakṣhaṇas* by the states, tribes or individuals, for no particular reason, except pure fancy. These had no special significance but were taken haphazard as heraldic devices. It is however very difficult to determine whether some of them had totemistic origin. Such symbols might be (a) trees, animals or any other objects or (b) astronomical symbols like the Sun, the Moon, the Crescent or the five-pointed Star. Sun-worship was prevalent from very early times. In the Vedas, *Sūrya* is worshipped under many names and forms, and the most sacred verse of the *Gāyatrī* is an invocation to the Sun-God. The three aspects of the sun are the rising, culminating and setting; and this triple aspect is represented by the epithet *tripād*, three-footed and *trivikrama* or three-stepping. The last title came to be appropriated to *Vishṇu*—‘the sun as the all-pervader who in three strides traverses the three worlds—earth, heaven and hell’.¹ In the coins, the sun is represented with spreading rays—the rising sun; and is a peculiarly auspicious object, the giver of all prosperity and life. The radiate sun and other solar emblems occur in the earliest coinage and also in those of the *Mālavas*. In one case the rays of the solar emblem are bent.

The moon as a crescent figures in the coins of the *Mahārāja Janapada* and the *Yaudheyas* and also in the punch-marked coins. Though there was no worship of the moon in India, yet she is recognised as an object of adoration. In the Vedas, *Soma* is identified with the moon; and its waning is said to be due to the drinking up of the nectar (*amṛita*) by the gods. *Śiva* is *chandraśekhara* ‘with the moon in his crest’, and the Lunar Dynasty claimed descent from the moon. So we can expect the symbol of the crescent in the coins of the *Śaivas* or members of the Lunar Dynasty.

The stars and constellations are recognised by the Hindus either as beneficent or malevolent. The anthropomorphic representation of the *Nakshatra* or constellation *Phalguni* is

¹ *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XII, p. 83—Sun, Moon and Stars (Hindu).

found in the coins of Phalgunimitra of Pañchāla and the stars figure in the coins with five tapering lines representing the rays.

The number of symbols met with in the tribal coins is more than forty. The animals that figure as such are the Bull, Elephant, Lion and Snake. A Bull occupies the rev. of some of the Rājanya, Nāga and Mālava coins. The Mālava Bull is generally recumbent, while in the case of the Rājanyas and the Nāgas, it is humped. The position is so prominent in these cases that the Bull may be accepted as a Type on the rev. of these coins.

The Elephant is found on the rev. of the Mālava coins and the Lion also occurs in the same position among the Mālavas and Rājanyas. The five-hooded snake has been identified in the coins of the Uddehikas. The peacock of the fantail variety, is common among the Mālavas. The Bird on the obv. of the 'Warrior' type coins of the Yaudheyas has been identified as a cock, and it really appears to be a peacock—the Vehicle or Vāhana of their national god Kārttikeya.

The Tree-in-Railing was a very common symbol and is found not only in the punch-marked coins but also in the die-struck coins of the Kuṇindas, Audumbaras, Yaudheyas, Mālavas and others. The Kuṇinda tree seems to be a pine tree and the representation is conventional—the branches are arranged in three or four rows, and sometimes the leaves are represented by lines looking downwards. The tree in Audumbara coin is surely of the Udumbara variety, though they are differently represented in the two types—the Viśvāmitra and the Elephant : Temple Types.

In the Sibi coin, it rises from a circle while the Uddehikas had the Tree-in-Railing in the horizontal position. The same symbol occurs in one class of the Rājanya coins and is rather common among the Mālavas. The Yaudheyas had the Tree-in-Railing conventionally represented in the Brahmanyadeva group and it may be a deodar.

The flower under the head of the Bull in the Bull : Elephant Type coins of the Audumbaras has been identified as a lotus flower ; it however appears to be a *chakra* or discus and is perhaps a countermark. But among the Mālavas, the lotus flower is sometimes open and is conventionally represented on occasions. It is in some of the Mālava coins that pinnate palm leaf appears side by side with the legend. A symbol which is very common in ancient Indian coins is the so-called *Chaitya* which has been correctly identified by Prof. Bhandarkar to be a Hill Symbol and is represented by a number of balls or crescents arranged in rows above one another and tapering to a point. Naturally the treatment varied in the case of the different tribes. Each had a variety of this symbol which had an intimate connection with the locality and made identification possible. The Hill

that appeared in the coin was perhaps the chief characteristic of the locality or intimately connected with the national life of the tribe or people. The Āsvakas had two Hill symbols in their coins, represented in two different ways and therefore these may be supposed to stand for two Hills which were situated in their territory or recognised as sacred by them. One Hill has been characterised as a pile of Balls—10 balls arranged in 4 rows, one row above the other, the number of balls diminishing by one. The other Hill symbol is of three semi-circles, one over the other two, the whole surmounted by a crescent. In the Kulūta coin the Hill symbol is composed of ten semicircles or arches surmounted by an elaborate Nandipada; the treatment is rather out of the ordinary. The Kuṇindas had a six-arched Hill Symbol with an umbrella above, the uppermost arch is rather elongated. The Yaudheyas had a similar representation of the Hill in their coins. The Sibi Hill is surmounted by a Nandipada and the Mālavas had a Hill of three arches (No. 11—Smith) like the Āsvakas.

The zigzag line occurs in the coins of the Āsvakas, the Audumbaras, Kuṇindas, Sibis, Mālavas and the Yaudheyas. But there is a great difficulty in identifying this symbol. It may stand for a river or a snake, and sometimes it may serve merely an ornamental purpose. The identification is however possible specially when it occurs with a Hill symbol. In that case the Hill and the River are the special local features. The zigzag line in the Āsvaka coins surely, stands for a river and similar is the case with the Sibi coin. It is evident that the Audumbaras and the Kuṇindas used this device merely for ornamental purposes. The Mālavas and the Yaudheyas had the zigzag line in their coins but it is doubtful whether it represents a snake or a river, though Smith identifies some of them as snakes in the Mālava coins. The wavy lines in the Āsvaka coin (No. 9 Cunningham, Pl. II) have been identified as vine branches by Prof. Rapson and the identification may be correct.

A squatting male figure with knees raised is found as a symbol in a Mālava coin (No. 104—Smith). What it stands for cannot be determined. But it is sure that the female figure in the Kuṇinda coins (Stag Type) is that of a goddess or the patron deity of the tribe. The figure stands on the right of the stag, has the left hand on hip and the right hand holds up a lotus stalk with a full blown lotus. (Smith pl. XX, No. 11). In some of the specimens the full-blown lotus is also under the feet of the female figure (Cunningham, Pl. V, figs. 1 and 2). She may therefore be Lakshmi, the goddess of prosperity and the goddess is also found in the coins of Avantī, Ayodhyā, Eraṇ and Kauśāmbī associated with lotus.

The principal weapons that figure as symbols are the Trisūla, Chakra, and the Vajra. Trisūla is the special weapon of Śiva and is found in Vimaka and Audumbara coins. The Vimaka

trident is of the ordinary shape but in the Audumbara coin the trident is highly elaborate and is perhaps the figure of their standard. The chakra is the special weapon of Vishnu. It figures as a Type in the Vrishni coin and is used as a symbol by the Vimakas, and the Yaudheyas in their earlier coins. (Cunningham, Pl. VI, fig. 5, obv.). The Vajra is the special weapon of Indra, an important member of the Hindu pantheon and in the Purāṇic period recognised as the king of the gods. It is found in the coins of the Mahārāja Janapada. It has great similarity with the representation of the thunderbolt in the coins of Nahapāna (Nos. 243, 244 etc.—Rapson's Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty etc.).

Of the astronomical signs the radiate sun and other solar symbols occur in the coins of the Mālavas. In one case the rays of the solar emblem are bent (No. 64—Smith); the crescent was adopted as a symbol by the Mahārāja Janapada and the Yaudheyas. In the Janapada coin, the crescent is placed over the head of the Bull and as the crescent figures on the head of god Śiva and the Bull is his Vehicle or Vāhana, a strong, presumption is raised, as pointed out by Jayaswal, that they were the worshippers of Śiva. The crescent also occurs in one class of Yaudheya coins (Smith—No. 19, p. 182) associated with a stag (or is it a Bull?); on the other side, we have the representation of Brahmanyadeva, a single-headed god, radiate, grasping a spear. Kārttikeya is reputed to be the son of Śiva; so on the rev. we have the crescent and Bull (?) the special insignia of the god Śiva.

The conch-shell is sacred to Vishnu and it is used as a symbol in the coins of the second (*Dvi*) section of the Yaudheyas. The Saṅkha or conch-shell is even now recognised as an auspicious object and is sounded at the time of marriages and other festivities, and also when worshipping the gods. It also figures in the coins of Gautamīputra and Śrī Yajña of the Andhra Dynasty (Rapson, p. 237). A similar auspicious object is a vase with leaves (āmra-pallavas-mangoe leaves) and was the special emblem of the 3rd section (*Tri*) of the Yaudheyas. This symbol is also found among the Kuṇindas in their Chatreśvara Type coins where it figures above the Stag on the rev. It is used as a Type by the Mālavas and is sometimes placed within a dotted circle or dotted border.


On occasions the national standards of the tribes figure in their coins. The Audumbaras appear to be very fond of their tribal insignia and 3 different varieties are employed by them. The symbol on the rev. of the Viśwāmītra Type coin to the left of the Udumbara tree is a trident battle-axe—a Trisūla and Axe combined. (Smith—Oxford History of India, p. 64 figs. 9 and 10—the two combined is the Audumbara symbol). The same symbol is found on the rev. of a hemi-drachm of Zoilus (Cunningham, Pl. IV, fig. 3). On the rev. of the Audumbara

coin of the Elephant : Temple Type occur two pillars on the two sides of the temple, the left one has a Swastika on it and the right one is surmounted by what appears to be a wheel with 'pendant garlands'. The wheel is taken to be a dharmachakra by Cunningham. The association of these two symbols with a temple stamps them with a religious character and these were perhaps looked upon as objects of veneration. The Yaudheyas had also their national standard figuring in their Bull : Elephant Type coins,—on the obv. ; the Bull standing right faces a curved object rising from a railing. It may be the tribal standard of the Yaudheyas but the identification of the scythe like object on the rev. which the elephant is passing by, is rather difficult. It may be a standard with a hanging streamer but the device is very obscure. (Smith, Pl. XXI, No. 13).

Of the linear symbols the Swastika is the most well-known and it appears in the coins of the Āśvakas, Kulūtas, the Kuṇindas and the Yaudheyas. The ends of the Swastika in the Āśvaka and Kulūta coins are curved, while the Kuṇindas and the Yaudheya had the ordinary representation. These all turn from left to right which was the general practice in historic times in India. The Nandipada also seems to be very popular. It is found not only in the punch-marked coins but appears in its elaborate form in the coins of the Kulūtas, Vrishnis, Kuṇindas, Audumbaras, the Yaudheyas and Mālavas ; and in its so-called Taurine form among the Āśvakas. The Mālava symbol also called the 'Ujjain Symbol' is found in the coins of the Mālava region and naturally appears in the coins of the Mālavas. It is also found in the coins of the Yaudheyas, Uddehikas and others. Perhaps it is a solar symbol and was in extensive use in early times. Two other symbols of doubtful origin may be mentioned here. One is the Triangular-headed Symbol which appears in the coins of the Uddehikas, the Yaudheyas and the Almora branch of the Kuṇindas. It is identified with the 'handled cross'.¹ But it seems to be the *Yūpa*—the sacrificial post, and the projecting lines on the two sides were meant for fastening the animals to be offered. The so-called 'Nāga Symbol'² of Prof. Rapson is found in the Kulūta, Kuṇinda and Yaudheya coins. The 'two S's with a straight line between' is the usual representation of this symbol ; the curved lines are taken to be two hooded snakes but there is no explanation offered for the straight line in the middle. The identification therefore offers insuperable difficulties. In the Kuṇinda coin, this sign is found within the horns of the 'Stag' and on the rev. of the 3rd section of the Yaudheyas and was perhaps used by them

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 326 (Cross).

² Rapson, E. J.—Catalogue of Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc., p CLXXVI.

as a mint-mark . This Symbol of 'three points and three

dots' (?) is found only on the rev. of the coins of the 2nd section of the Yaudheyas. While the second section has a 'vase with flowers' and this symbol, the Third Section has the conch-shell and the Nāga Symbol on the rev.; perhaps the Nāga Symbol and 'the three points and three dots' Symbol were both of them the mint-marks of the two sections of the Yaudheya Tribe.

THE TYPES.

The principal types in the tribal coins are the animals, birds, trees, weapons, human figures, the sun, the wheel, the vase, the king's head (?), the figures of deities and patron saints, and the personification of warlike prowess. These types are generally found in the punch-marked coins and are evidently of an early age e.g. the Humped Bull Figures in coins Nos. 9 and 10 (Smith's catalogue, pp. 136-142), Elephant in Nos. 9, 12, 16 etc., Tree in Nos. 18 and 19, the Sun in Nos. 18 and 19 and so on. The animals used as types in the tribal coins are the Humped Bull, the Elephant, the Lion, the Stag and the Camel (?). The Bull like the Elephant is a common emblem in Indian mythology and 'is associated with deities worshipped by various sects'.¹ The figure of the Bull is found either (a) with or (b) without hump, or (c) recumbent and is used as a type by the Audumbaras, Arjunāyanas, Mālavas, Vimakas, Uddehikas, Yaudheyas, Nāgas, Mahārāja and Rājanya Janapadas. The Arjunāyana Bull is a humped one and so is that of the Audumbaras, Vimakas, Uddehikas, Yaudheyas, Rājanya and Mahārāja Janapadas, while the Nāga Bull is recumbent. The Mālavas had all the three types—with or without hump and the recumbent. The Bull is thus the commonest of all the devices and this must be due to the special importance and sanctity attached to this animal. In the Vedic Age, the cow was the medium of exchange, it helped the Aryans in various ways, in the supply of their food and in the cultivation of their land. It was an animal sacred to Śiva and other deities. Naturally it was adopted as a badge by various tribes and figured in the coins as a symbol or a type from a very early time in this country. The elephant, either its whole body or only the forepart, figured as a type among the Arjunāyanas, Audumbaras, Mālavas, Vimakas, Vṛishnis, Uddehikas, and the Yaudheyas. In the Arjunāyana coin the Elephant faces front with head right, trunk raised; only the head appears and this had great resemblance to the obv. type of the Indo-Parthian king Maues. Among the Vṛishnis, the type is composed of Half-Elephant and Half-Lion—a peculiar

¹ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 557.

emblem. In one variety of the Audumbaras, only the front half (viz. the head, trunk and the forelegs) appears as the type.

The Lion as the king of Beasts, naturally figured in the coins and stood for power and might. But it is clear that Lion was confined to only one part of the country, the desert region, and the Lion-type was prevalent only among the Mālavas and the Rājanyas. The Rājanya Lion stands facing a post and in the Mālava coin, the Lion stands left. The Lion however was not so popular as a type among the tribes as the Bull or Elephant. Another animal to serve as a type was the stag. The figure of the stag in the Kupinda coins is very clear, and the same type occurs in the coins discovered at Almora which perhaps belong to a branch of the Kupindas. The stag is very indistinct in the Yaudheya coins, and among the Mālavas the type has been identified as 'antelope standing'.

The camel as a type is very rare. It is perhaps found only among the Ārjunāyanas who dwelt in the border of the Indian desert i.e. Bharatpur and Alwār States in Rajputana.

The Vrishnis had a peculiar Type—a Half-Elephant and Half-Lion—the foreparts of the two animals are joined together and placed on a pillar which is surrounded by a railing. The representation in Cunningham's book (pl. IV, fig. 15) is very distinct—the trunk of the elephant hangs down while the Lion is open-mouthed and ready to spring. It is a strange way of associating two animals—the Lion and the Elephant in one Type.

The Human Figure was also very popular as a Type. It is found among the Ārjunāyanas, Āśvakas, Audumbaras, Mālavas, Yaudheyas, the Māhārāja and Rājanya Janapadas. In the Āśvaka coins, the Human Figure is robed, with an upraised arm in an attitude of worship; and in the Audumbara coin, the man stands to front with spear in right hand. The Mālava figure is squatted to left, while the Ārjunāyana and Rājanya coins have a standing Human Figure with right hand raised as in the Northern Satrap coins. The Māhārāja Janapada had also a standing figure to front as a Type. The Yaudheyas, in their 'Warrior' Type coins had a Warrior standing, facing front and grasping spear in right hand with left hand on hip—'in the pose of a dignified *tribhāṅga*'.¹ According to Jayaswal, it represents the type of their citizen soldier and is surely a fit and proper device for a tribe which was noted for its military prowess. The Warrior, therefore, stands emblematical for the martial quality of the great fighters—the Yaudheyas.

The tree as a type or symbol is very common in the ancient coins of India. It is found in the punch-marked as well as die-struck coins. These are generally surrounded by railings and it is evident that they are not of the same species. In ancient

¹ J. HP. I., p. 150.

India and even at present, trees have sanctity attached to them and are specially sacred to certain deities, e.g. Tulasi is sacred to Vishnu and its leaves are offered to this god at the time of worship, and similar is the case with the Bel tree which is sacred to god Śiva. It is not however always possible to identify the trees—which are used as Types and Symbols on the coins. It is however sure that trees of various species were taken as emblems by the different peoples; and on occasions, these were looked upon as sacred. The Audumbaras had a Tree as a Type on the rev. of the Viśvāmitra Type coins. It is a Tree in Railing and is assuredly an Udumbara Tree. So the Udumbara Tree was the 'canting badge' of the Audumbara tribe i.e. the device had a punning allusion to the name of the issuing tribe. This practice was also common in the West—the quince (mêlon) at Melos, the pomegranate (sidê) in Side and so on.¹ The Mālavas and the Rājanya Janapada also used the Tree in Railing device in their coins, but the exact identity of these trees cannot be determined. The Tree in the Mālava coin No. 109 (Smith's catalogue, pl. XXI, 8) is perhaps a pine tree and that in the Rājanya coin (Smith, Pl. XXI, No. 12) may be a Vāṭa tree. In some of the coins of the Mālavas (Smith, Pl. XX, Nos. 19 and 20) a pinnate palm leaf serves as a Type.

The only Bird that was used as a Type in the tribal coins was the fantail peacock. This device was adopted only by the Mālavas. The identification of 'King's-Head' Type on the rev. of some of the Mālava coins is very doubtful; it is most probably a 'fantail peacock' (pl. XX, No. 21—Smith's catalogue).

Weapons like Triśūla, Chakra, Bow and Arrow etc. are used as Types or Symbols. Triśūla is the Type of the Sibi coins. It was identified as a 'cross' by Cunningham but the portion visible seems to be the upper part of a Triśūla. It also occurs as a Symbol in the Viśvāmitra Type and Elephant: Temple Type coins of the Audumbaras. The Type on the rev. of the Vṛishṇi coin (Cunningham, Pl. IV, fig. 15) was taken to be a Dharmachakra by Cunningham, but the correct identification is a *Chakra* or discus. It was an attribute of sovereignty e.g. *Rājachakrabartī* signifies the king as the Wielder of the Discus. Moreover Krishna who is given divine honour by the Hindus belonged to the Vṛishṇi clan and had the discus as his special weapon. So Jayaswal's identification of the wheel-like object seems to be correct, and this is evident from 'the cutting edges and the projecting points on the rim'. The Wheel as a Type occurs in the coins of the Nāgas and the Kulūtas—the device in the Nāga coin has eight spokes, and in the Kulūta coin ten spokes within a circle of dots. It is not clear why this device was adopted by them, and its significance in the present state of our knowledge eludes our grasp. Another device was the vase

¹ Macdonald, G.—Evolution of Coinage, p. 76.

which figures as a Type in the Mālava coins and as a Symbol in the Kupinda coins (Cunningham, pl. V, figs. 4 and 5—above the Stag). Smith identifies it with an Indian *lotā*. A vase filled with water is even now looked upon as an auspicious object and is used in ceremonial occasions. So this device is to be classed with Svastika, Nandipada etc. which are associated with a special auspicious occasion.

Lastly we come to another class of Types, viz. figures of gods, their temples and the patron saints. These have a religious significance, and evidently the coins were given these Types in honour of the national god or the patron saint. The Audumbaras put on some of their coins, the figure of Viśvāmitra the Rishi who was evidently their patron saint. The Rishi stands, facing, with right hand raised and left on hip. He wears matted locks, tied in a knot over the head, is scantily clothed perhaps in a piece of skin and has the sacred thread on the shoulder under the right hand (Cunningham, pl. IV, fig. 1). It is not possible to recognise what he has in his right hand but the pose is one of conferring blessings. The Yaudheyas as a military people adopted the figure of Brahmanyadeva or Kārttikeya, the War-god as a Type on one class of their coins. Kārttikeya is the commander-in-chief of the gods in Hindu pantheon and his representation on the coins of the Yaudheyas whose name is derived from *Yuddha* or war is perfectly natural and a fit badge for this tribe. Mr. Jayaswal is therefore correct in taking it to be the figure of a god, and on the face of it Smith's identification Brahmanyadeva as a Yaudheya king is untenable. The god is represented with six heads on some coins and with only one in others. But the representation is very rude, the six heads are arranged in two rows, one above the other; and the god holds spear on the right hand. One of the figures (Cunningham, pl. VI, fig. 12—obv.) has a small bird on its shoulder. Perhaps it is a peacock, the Vāhana or vehicle of this god. The rev. figure of the same coin is undoubtedly a female with six heads—Is it the wife of Kārttikeya or some other goddess? In the single-headed Type (Smith's catalogue—Nos. 18a and 18b, p. 182), the coins are specifically referred to as *Brahmanyadevasya drama* i.e. the coin dedicated to Brahmanyadeva whose other names are Kārttikeya, Śaḍānana and Kumāra—the presiding deity of Heroism and War', or as put by Mr. Jayaswal 'the figure is their La Liberté'. The Kulūtas in their Chatreśvara Type had the figure of their national god on their coins—Śiva standing facing with trident battle-axe in right hand and leopard skin hanging from left arm. The vehicle of Śiva is the bull Nandi and it figures in the coins of the Kushanas (cf. Rapson—I.C., pl. II, No. 12). Śiva and his Bull were adopted as Types by other States also e.g. Pushkalāvati. Another Type which deserves our particular notice is the representation of a building on some of the Audumbara coins. It is a pointed-roofed building

of two or three stories with pillars. Jayaswal wants to identify it with 'their Motehall or some other public building'. The conical shape of the upper part of the building, the *Śikhara* and its disproportionate height tempt us to identify it with a temple in the Indo-Aryan style. It was perhaps the temple of their national god and as such must have been deemed a sacred place of worship. Here the people perhaps repaired for their national festivals, worshipped their god and prayed to him in times of national calamity, or offered thanks on the occasions of military victories. It must have been intimately associated with their national life, before its representation found a place on their coins.

THE PROVENANCE AND DESCRIPTION OF COINS.

I. *Arjunāyanas*, The. As a people they do not appear in Pāṇini, Patañjali or the Mahābhārata.¹ A reference is found for the first time in the Gaṇapāṭha on Pāṇini (IV, 1, 112),² and in the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta (c. 380 A.D.), they 'appear among the peoples on the frontiers of the Gupta Empire'.³ The *Arjunāyanas* as a political community are supposed to have come into existence 'about the Śunga times (200 B.C.)',⁴ and the name is derived from *Ārjunāyana* the founder, 'one of the family of Arjuna'.⁵ They issued coins as early as the first cent. B.C.⁶ but these are 'extremely rare'.⁷ They were then settled in Rājputanā, perhaps in the 'region lying west of Agra and Mathurā, equivalent, roughly speaking, to the Bhārathpur and Alwar states (J.R.A.S. 1897, p. 886)'.⁸ These coins, all in copper, bear the legends—'*Ārjunāyanāna*', 'coin of the *Ārjunāyanas*' or '*Arjunayananā jaya*', 'Victory of the *Arjunāyanas*', in Brāhmī script.⁹ The *Arjunāyana* coins are closely related in style to the coins of the Northern Satraps, the Yaudheyas, the Audumbaras, the Rājanyas and others.¹⁰ Cunningham hazards the suggestion that *Ajudhan* 'on the bank of the old Satlej river, may still preserve some trace of their name'.¹¹

Type No. 1. The Standing Figure and the Humped Bull¹²
Type (c. 100 B.C.). AE

Obv. : Humped Bull standing to l.

¹ J. HP. I., p. 154.

² *Ibid.*, footnote 1.

³ CHI., I., p. 528.

⁴ J. HP. I., p. 154; Prof. Rapson, however, places them in 4th cent. B.C. (CHI., I., p. 528).

⁵ J. HP. I., p. 132.

⁶ CHI., I., p. 528 (Rapson).

⁷ S. CCIM., p. 160 (Vol. II).

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ J. HP. I., p. 154; S. CCIM., p. 166; C. CAI., p. 89, Pl. VIII, 20; R. IC., Sec. 42, Pl. III, 20; JRAS. (1900) p. 106 (Rapson).

¹⁰ S. CCIM., p. 160; J. HP. I., p. 160.

¹¹ C. CAI., p. 90.

¹² R. IC., Pl. III, 20.

Rev.: Standing Figure with r. hand raised as in the Northern Satrap coins; the legend in Br. in the margin—*Ārjunāyanāna*, and a symbol on l. perhaps a flag or a spear.¹

Type No. 2. The *Elephant and the Bull* Type.² AE Var. a. *Obv.*: A Tree in railing to r.; on the l. an Elephant facing f. with head r. and trunk raised. The head of the elephant has resemblance to that on the obv. of a coin of the Indo-Parthian king Maues.³

Rev.: A 'curved object' rising from a railing; and the Br. legend on the margin—*Ārjunāyanana jaya*, (*Ārjunāyanānām jayah*), 'Victory to the Ārjunāyanas'. The 'curved object' seems to have some resemblance to the flagstaff with 2 symbols dangling from it in a coin of Dhanadeva.⁴ There is an indistinct figure in front of it⁵ which had not been marked by Smith. Perhaps it is a Bull as in Type No. 1, though to r. The *rev.* side of this coin (Smith, Pl. XX, 10) has a great resemblance to the Yaudheya coin,⁶ where a Bull standing r. faces a 'curved object' with a railing. Cunningham takes it to be a 'pillar with pendant garland', and on this analogy the indistinct figure on the Ārjunāyana coin may be a Bull.

Var. b. *Camel (?) and the Bull* Type. AE.

Obv.: A camel (?) to r. facing Tree within railing.

Rev.: Humped Bull to r. facing sacrificial post, within railing; Br. legend *Ārjunāyanāna jaya*, (Victory to the Ārjunāyanas). It has a striking resemblance to the Yaudheya coins. Its *rev.* type is the same as that of the Yaudheya coin in C. CAL., Pl. VI, 3; and 'it is struck in the same manner—slightly incuse'.—JRAS., 1900, p. 107.

II. *Āśvakas*, The.—The coins with the legend *Vaṭasvaka* were found in the neighbourhood of Taxila and Cunningham includes them among the Taxilian coins.⁷ The inscription is in Brāhmī characters and the coins are of the single-die variety. Prof. Rapson is of opinion that the date of these coins 'is probably at least as early as 200 B.C.'⁸ but they may be actually of an earlier date. Bühler explained the legend—*Vaṭasvaka*, 'as a tribal name, equivalent to Sanskrit *Vaṭāśvakāḥ*, meaning the *Āśvaka* tribe of the *Vaṭa* or fig-tree clan'.⁹ The meaning however seems to be far-fetched. The *Āśvakas* have been correctly identified with the Assakēnoi mentioned by Arrian, and they dwelt in the Swāt valley. They 'were the first Indian people to receive the brunt of the invasion'¹⁰ of Alexander the Great. The fighting was of exceptional ferocity and their

¹ Cf. the Yaudheya coin with soldier standing holding spear in right hand on the *rev.*; R. IC., Pl. III, 14; S. CCIM., Pl. XXI, 18, 19 and 20.

² S. CCIM., p. 166, Pl. XX, 10.

⁴ C. CAL., p. 92., Pl. IX, 9 *rev.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 180, Pl. XXI, 13 *obv.*

⁸ R. IC., p. 14.

¹⁰ CHL., p. 352.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 40, Pl. VIII, 4.

⁵ S. CCIM., Pl. XX, 10 *obv.*

⁷ C. CAL., Pl. II.

⁹ S. CCIM., p. 147.

chief town Massaga fell into the hands of the invader after a stout resistance. We have, however, no reference either in the writings of the Greeks or in Sanskrit literature of the *Vaṭa* (fig-tree) clan of the *Aśvakas*. The word *Vaṭa* also means a cowry shell, and we know that cowries were, and even at present are, used as mediums of exchange. So it might mean a 'coin' and this will give a better meaning to the legend *Vaṭasvaka*,—(*Aśvakānām Vaṭah*=*Vaṭāśvakah*, acc. to Pāṇini—II, 2. 31), 'the coin of the *Aśvakas*'. These coins as pointed out by Prof. Rapson are 'connected by identity of type with some of the single-die coins found in the neighbourhood of Taxila'.¹ (Cf. C. CAL., Pl. II, figs. 9, 11 and 14). The symbols are the same but there is no legend; obviously these coins belong to the same tribe, and are of an earlier date. Two of these symbols are very prominent in coins Nos. 9 and 11; and I am disposed to classify them as varieties of the *Aśvaka* coins. A tentative classification of the coins of the *Aśvaka* tribe may be effected by dividing them into two Types of two varieties each.

Type No. 1. Var. a.² AE.

There are two symbols: (a) the so-called pile of 'bales'³ or 'balls'⁴ and above, (b) the so-called *Chaitya*, (both are perhaps the different varieties of the Hill Symbol); to r. a robed human figure with an upraised arm in an attitude of worship with a *nandipada* below; to l. the Br. legend—*Vaṭasvaka* in characters of 3rd cent. B.C. Var. b.⁵ These coins have only the two common Hill Symbols and the figure of the man is standing between with an upraised hand; there is no legend, nor the *nandipada*.

Type No. 2. Var. a.⁶ AE.

The two prominent *Hill* Symbols, a *Svastika* above, and a zigzag line (river?) below. Var. b.⁷ This variety has the three symbols (the two Hill Symbols and the river Symbol) common with Var. a. but two peculiar symbols are introduced below them. V. Smith only notes that these symbols are 'made of curved lines'⁸ and Prof. Rapson takes them to be 'wavy lines and uncertain designs' and suggests 'vine branches (?)'.⁹

III. *Audumbaras*, The.—The name *Audumbara*, the *Odomboeræ* of Ptolemy¹⁰ is derived from the *Udumbara* fig-tree (*Ficus glomerata*).¹¹ They are unknown to the early Pāṇinian literature but are mentioned in the *Rājanya* group in the *Gaṇapāṭha*; and are also referred to in connection with the

¹ R. IC., p. 14.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁵ C. CAL., Pl. II, fig. 14.

⁷ *Ibid.*, fig. 9.

⁹ R. IC., Pl. I., 11; C. ASR., XIV, Pl. X, (No. 10).

¹⁰ D. GDAMI., p. 13.

² C. CAL., Pl. II, fig. 17.

⁴ S. CCIM., p. 156, footnote 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, fig. 11.

⁸ S. CCIM., p. 156 (No. 4).

¹¹ C. CAL., p. 66.

Punjab republics in the Sabhā-Parvan of the Mahā-Bhārata.¹ Varāha Mihira places them in the company of the Kapisthalas, 'while the Vishṇu Purāṇa couples them with the Traigarttas and the Kulindas'.² In the Bṛihat Samhitā, Udumbara is the name of 'the district of Nurpur (or rather Gurudaspur)'.³ The Audumbara coins are 'extremely rare' and are found in the Kaṅgrā and Hoshyārpur Districts of the Punjab.⁴ Perhaps they dwelt in the country between Kaṅgrā and Ambāla⁵; and as Pliny locates them in Cutch, so it is evident that one branch of the people must have migrated to that region and their descendants are found there and form 'the modern community of Gujrati Brahmins of the Audumbara caste'.⁶

The Audumbara coins resemble those of the Ārjunāyanas and 'other classes of ancient coins',⁷ and were struck 'in the name of the community and the king'.⁸ These coins probably date from the first century B.C. and have legends in Kh. and Br. Jayaswal is of opinion that 'the Kharoshthī script indicates that about 100 B.C. they came under the influence of the Satraps like their neighbours of the Punjab, and were finally absorbed'.⁹ There is a great similarity in style between the Audumbara coins and 'the hemidrachms of Greek prince Apollodotus and are found together with them'.¹⁰ Prof. Rapson also points out that 'a similarity in style is observable' between 'Viśvāmītra Type' and one of Azilises.¹¹

Type No. 1. The *Viśvāmītra* Type.¹² AR.

Obv.: The standing figure of *Viśvāmītra*, the Rishi with r. hand raised and the l. resting on the waist; the Kh. legend—*Mahadevasa raṇo Dharaghoshasa Odumbarisa*—across field,—*Viśpamitra*, 'Of His Exalted Majesty'.¹³ Dharaghosha of the Audumbaras, or of Dharaghosha, the worshipper of Mahādeva, i.e. Māhādeva, of the Audumbaras. Jayaswal takes 'Mahādeva' (or Māhādeva ?) to mean 'His Exalted Majesty' but it appears that the word refers to their national god. *Viśvāmītra* was their patron saint.

Rev.: The same legend in Br.; the Udumbara (fig tree) on the r. within a railing, and the trident battle-axe on l. The tree was the lakṣhaṇa and the trident, 'the figure of their standard'.¹⁴

Type No. 2. The *Elephant and the Temple* Type. AE.

¹ J. HP. I., p. 160.

² D. GDAMI., p. 13.

³ J. HP. I., p. 160.

⁴ S. CCIM., p. 161.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ C. CAI., p. 67, Pl. IV, fig. 1; for other specimens see R. IC., Pl. III, 8; and CHI., p. 539, Pl. V, 14.

⁸ J. HP. I., p. 161.

⁹ *Ibid.*, and pp. 42 and 43—Lakṣhaṇa is the 'lāñchhana' or heraldic crest. It is usually 'the figure of an animal or river, town or the like.'

¹⁰ C. CAI., p. 66.

¹¹ S. CCIM., p. 160.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 161.

¹³ J. HP. I., p. 161.

¹⁴ R. IC., p. 11.

Var. a.¹ *Obv.*: Elephant walking before the Udumbara tree surrounded by a railing and a zigzag line (snake or river ?) beneath ; the Kh. legend incomplete—*Odumbara*..., placed under the wavy line.

Rev.: A pointed-roofed building of two or three stories, with pillars ; a pillar with *Svastika* on it to l., and a shaft surmounted by a wheel (the so-called *Dharma-chakra* of Cunningham) with 'pendant garlands'. The building may be the temple, 'their mote-hall (?) or some other public building',² and the 'shaft with the wheel' the figure of their standard.

Var. b.³ *Obv.*: There are two points of difference with the first variety—the position of the Kh. legend and the figure of the Elephant. In this variety, the legend is found on the r. of the Elephant and not under the zigzag line ; and while in Var. a., the whole body of the Elephant is found, in this Var. b., the head, trunk and the forelegs are only seen. It is evident that the entire body must have been absent in the die, as the Kh. legend *Odumbarisa* is 'found to the right of the Elephant's forepart'.

Rev.: The temple is a three-storied one and slightly different from the first variety. There is a trident (*triśūla*) with banners to r. and the Br. legend on top. These coins have legends both in Br. and Kh. and the complete legends as restored by Mr. Rakhaldas Banerjee are—⁴

Obv.: Kh.—Mahadevasa Raña Dharaghoṣasa Odumbarisa.

Rev.: Br.—Mahadevasa Raña Dharaghoṣasa Odumbarisa.

In the coins of two other kings *Rudradāsa* and *Śivadāsa*, their names spelt as Rudradasa and Śivadasa are introduced without any other change in the legends. The Br. and Kh. letters 'belong to the first century B.C. and one peculiarity is that the long vowels ā, ū, ai and au are avoided both in Br. and Kh'.

Type No. 3.—The *Elephant and the Bull Type*.⁵ AR.

Obv.: Elephant with upraised trunk moving to l.,⁶ towards trident battle-axe ; Br. legend.

Rev.: Humped Bull to r., flower (lotus flower ?) under head ; Kh. legend. The legends are—⁷

Obv.: Br.—bh (a) gavatomahādevasarājarājasa.

Rev.: Kh.—bhuguvusamahadevusarajaraña.

The legend on these coins had been interpreted to refer to a king named Mahādeva. But this cannot be taken to be certain.

¹ C. CAI., p. 68, Pl. IV, fig. 2.

² J. HP. I., p. 161.

³ J.A.S.B. 1914 ; (Numis. Sup., No. XXIII, 247-250).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

⁵ C. CAI., p. 68, Pl. IV., figs. 5 and 6.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Pl. IV, fig. 5.

⁷ JRAS., 1900 (A. V. Bergny), p. 411.

The word *bhagavata* is generally applicable to gods,¹ and the title 'rājārāja', 'the king of kings' is more applicable to a god than to the king of a small principality. Moreover 'Mahadevasa' in the coins of Dharaghosha might refer to the national god, of whom Dharaghosha was the worshipper. So I would rather take this legend as applicable to god Mahādeva and the coin seems to be dedicated to him like the Chatreśvara Type² of Kuṇinda coins. The legend therefore may be interpreted as follows—'In the name of the Almighty Mahādeva, the king of kings'.

Type No. 4. *Elephant and Man Type*. AE.

Var. a.³ *Obv.*: Elephant with upraised trunk moving to l., with⁴ or without⁵ a man on its back; the legend either in Br. or Kh.

Rev.: Man standing to f. with spear in r. hand with or without zig-zag line and the legend in Kh.

(a) (C. CAI., Pl. IV, 7).

Br.—...ñojamitasa.

Kh.—raña (or ño) ajamitrassa—'of king Ajamitra'.

(b) (C. CAI., Pl. IV, 9).

Bh.: r (.) mahim (.) ta...

Kh.: ...ñamahimitrassa—'of king Mahimitra'.⁶

Jayaswal interprets the word Rājna or 'Rājanya'—(Cunningham) as meaning a president, the executive head, or an elected ruler of a tribe.⁷

Var. b.⁸ *Obv.*: Male Figure to f., with spear in r. hand; the zig-zag line (snake or river?) to r.

Rev.: Figure on Elephant to l.; Kh. legend—*Maharajasa Dhara* (?),—the reading is very uncertain.

Type No. 5. *The Elephant and Three Symbols*.⁹ AE.

Obv.: Elephant to l.; Kh. legend.

Rev.: The Three Symbols—one is a *Tree*, the other—*Nandipada* but the third cannot be recognised; the snake (zig-zag line) referred to by Cunningham seems to be a part of the *Nandipada* Symbol; the legend in Br.—the same legend is found on both the sides—

Rev.: Br.—(ra) ñobhānumitra(sa).

Obv.: Kh.—rañabhāna (or nu) mitrassa, 'of King Bhānumitra'.

¹ (a) Kuṇinda coins—Chatreśvara Type—*Bhāgavata Chatreśvara Mahāmanah* (S. CCIM., p. 170).

(b) Yaudheya coins—Brahmanyadeva Type—*Bhāgavata Svāmīno Brahmanyadevasya*. (S. CCIM., p. 181).

² R. IC., Pl. III, 10.

³ C. CAI., p. 69, Pl. IV, figs. 7-9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Pl. IV, fig. 9.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Pl. IV, figs. 7 and 8.

⁶ JRAS., 1900, p. 414 (A. V. Bergny).

⁷ 29 J. HP. I., pp. 42 and 160.

⁸ C. CAI., p. 69, Pl. IV, fig. 10.

⁹ *Ibid.*, fig. 12.

Type No. 6.—The *Sun and the Three Symbols*.¹ AE.

Obv. : The Three Symbols as on the rev. of Type No. 5 ;
Br. legend—*Bhānumitrasa*, 'Of Bhānumitra'.

Rev. : The rayed disc of the sun above a railing ; the figure of the sun refers to the name of the king Bhānu (the sun). This coin is assuredly a Pañchāla coin and perhaps the Type No. 5 also should be assigned to that locality.

Cunningham included the coins of Rudravarman, Ajamitra, Mahimitra, Bhānumitra, Virayaśas and Vṛishṇi among those of the Audumbaras. But Mr. R. D. Banerjee does not accept this view on the ground that we have not the name 'Odumbara' coupled with these names, while in the case of Dharaghosha, Śivadāsa and Rudradāsa 'we invariably find that the name of the tribe is associated in the legend with that of the king. Consequently the attribution of coins which do not bear the name of the tribe to the Audumbaras, must be very doubtful'.² But there is no reason that the same practice should be adhered to throughout the ages ; a change in the constitution of the Audumbaras might lead to the introduction of a new form of legends. So long as great importance was attached to the tribal character of the constitution, the name of the tribe was coupled in the coins with the names of their rulers ; but if later on with a change in the constitution and the augmentation of their authority, the rulers gave only their own names and omitted that of the tribe, there is nothing improbable in it. We cannot, therefore, accept Mr. Banerjee's statement in full. Some of the coins e.g., those of the Vṛishṇis, Mahārāja Janapada, Virayaśas, and perhaps of Bhānumitra had been wrongly attributed by Cunningham to the Audumbaras. But the resemblance in style leads me to attribute the coins of Mahimitra and Ajamitra to the Audumbaras ; and it is almost certain that they were the rulers of this tribe, of which the national god was Mahādeva or Siva. It is also probable that the coins without the tribal name were of a later date than those of Dharaghosha, Rudradāsa and Śivadāsa who preceded them.

IV. *Kulūtas*, The.—They were 'the eastern neighbours of the Udumbaras' and lived in 'the Kulū valley of the Kāngrā district'.³ Their coins have been assigned by Prof. Rapson to the first or second century A.D. They usually used both Br. and Kh. in the coin legends, as they like the Udumbaras and the Kuṇindas 'lived on the border between the regions in which the two ancient alphabets Brāhmī and Kharoshthī prevailed'.⁴

They are mentioned in the *Mahā-Bhārata*, the *Bṛihat Samhitā* and other Sanskrit works, as well as in the inscriptions.⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, fig. 13.

² JASB., Vol. X, No. 6, 1914. (Numis. Supp., No. XXIII, p. 248).

³ Prof. Rapson in CHI., I., p. 529.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ JRAS., 1900—Rapson, *Notes on Indian Coins and Seals* III—The Kulūtas, a people of Northern India.

Their country was visited by Hiouen Tshang and they are sometimes referred to as *Mlecchas* in the Sanskrit literature, and this perhaps means that they were foreigners. But it is evident from their coins that they had by this time adopted Indian names. The *obv.* type has great resemblance with Vṛishṇi coins. (C. CAL., Pl. IV, fig. 15).

Type—The *Wheel* Type. AE.

Obv.: The Wheel surrounded by a circle of dots: Br. legend—*Rājña Kolūtasya Virayaśasya*, (coin) of King Virayaśa, the Kolūta.¹

Rev.: The Hill symbol (the so-called *Chaitya*) with the *Nandipada* above, *Svastika* on l. and another symbol 'Two S's with a line between' on the r.—the Kh. legend gives only the word *Raṇa*. The Br. letters are of the 1st or 2nd century A.D. and this conclusion is strengthened by the curtailment of the Kh. legend. As pointed out by Prof. Rapson in the bilateral coin legends 'the importance of the Kh. alphabet tends to diminish as time goes on'. In the earliest known coins of this class which are placed in the first century B.C., (in the silver coins of the Kuṇindas and the Audumbaras) the Kh. inscription is full. But in the Kulūta coin only the title *Raṇa* in Kh. is found on the *rev.* This clearly shows that Kh. had lost its importance and was being superseded by Br.

V. *Kuṇindas*, The.—They are the *Kulindrine* of Ptolemy and it is also spelt as *Kaulindas* or *Kaunindas*. The spelling in the coins is *Kuninda* as also in the *Bṛihat Samhitā* of Varāha Mihira, *Kulinda* in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* and *Kaulinda* in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*.² These coins are found in large numbers 'in the country between Ambāla and Shahāranpur'.³ and 'three of the silver coins were found at Jwālamukhī in Kāngrā associated with the coins of Apollodotos (circ. 150 B.C.)'.⁴ Cunningham identified the Kuṇindas with the *Kunets* or *Kanets* of the Simla Hills.⁵ But Jayaswal rejects this identification and is supported by Sir G. Grierson.⁶ They however 'inhabited the country of the Sutlej in the Simla Hill States'.⁷ The Uduṇbaras, the Kulūtas and the Kuṇindas 'lived on the border between the regions in which the two ancient alphabets, Brāhmī and Kharoshthī prevailed: they accordingly used both of them in their coin legends'.⁸ In most of the coins of the Kuṇindas, both silver and copper, occur the word *Amoghabhūti*, but these coins 'vary much in execution, and probably extend

¹ C. CAL., p. 70, Pl. IV, fig. 14. Cunningham read '*Koputasya*' or '*Koptanasya*'; Rapson suggested '*Kopūta*', 'the very pure'. But it was Mr. Bergny who first correctly read '*Kolūtasya*'. JRAS., (1900), p. 415.

² C. CAL., p. 71; J. HP. I, p. 82, footnote 1.

⁴ S. CCIM., p. 161.

⁶ J. HP. I., p. 82, footnote 1 and 217.

⁷ CHI, I, p. 529.

³ C. CAL., p. 71.

⁵ C. CAL., p. 71.

⁸ *Ibid.*

over a considerable period'.¹ V. Smith takes the word *Amoghabhūti* to be the name of a king, and was, therefore, forced to the conclusion that the name of *Amoghabhūti* was continued even long after his death. Jayaswal, however, has pointed a way out of this difficulty. In this opinion, the Kuṇinda coins refer both to the name of the king and the political community. 'Their king, is always mentioned there as *Amoghabhūti*, 'of unfailing prosperity', and the same appellation appears for centuries (150 B.C. to 100 A.C.). This was an official title and not a personal name'.² But we have no corroboration of this statement from other sources which would obviate all our doubts. The legends in the coins are in an old form of Brāhmī and in some of the coins, these are also repeated in Kharoshthī. The coins with both Br. and Kh. legends are supposed to be of an earlier date by Smith.³ The later issues were surely influenced by the copper coins of the Kushana period. But their attribution to the 3rd and 4th century A.D. by Prof. Rapson seems to be too late,⁴ though there is practically no doubt that the Hindu states like the Yaudheyas, the Kuṇindas etc. 'rose in power as the Greek and Kushana supremacies successively declined'.⁵ The *Chatreśvara* Type is surely 'later in date than the 'Stag Type' coins with the name of Amoghabhūti'.⁶ So the period covered is 150 B.C.⁷ to 200 A.D.⁸

Type No. 1. *The Stag Type* (2nd century B.C.).⁹ AR.

Obv.: Female with l. hand on hip with lotus flower in r. hand; a stag standing to r. and two symbols, one between the horns of the stag and the other above it, and this is supposed to be a square stūpa surmounted by an umbrella; a mint mark,—a disc surrounded by dots at hindfoot of stag; the marginal Br. legend—*Amaghabhūta maharajasa rājña Kuṇadasa*, (*Amoghabhūti mahārājasa rājña Kuṇi (n) dasa*)—'coin of Amoghabhūti Mahārāja, Rājā, the Kuṇinda or of the Kuṇindas',¹⁰ (or of Mahārāja of unfailing strength, the king of the Kuṇindas).¹¹ We also find different symbols in other coins e.g. *svastika*, *nandipada* or two short curved lines; and *rājña* is sometimes spelt as *rāña*. The so-called *Chaitya* of three arches (the *Hill* symbol) also occasionally occurs.

Rev.: A high so-called six-arched chaitya (the *Hill* Symbol?) with umbrella (?) in centre; to r. conventional tree in railing, to l. *svastika* and a triangular-headed symbol—(*yūpa*?) and above a *nandipada*; below a curved line (snake or river?) which appears to have been put merely for ornamental

¹ S. CCIM., p. 161.

² S. CCIM., p. 161.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ 150 B.C.—S. CCIM., p. 161; 100 B.C.—R. IC., p. 12.

⁵ 100 A.D.—S. CCIM., p. 167; 3rd or 4th cent. A.D.—R. IC., p. 12.

⁶ S. CCIM., p. 167.

⁷ J. HP. I., p. 82, footnote 1.

⁸ J. HP. I., p. 82, footnote 1.

⁹ R. IC., p. 12.

¹⁰ S. CCIM., p. 161.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

purposes ; Kh. legend in the margin—*Raṇa Kuṇḍasa Amogha-bhātisa* ; below *maharajasa*.¹

AE. or Brass—A. With both Br. and Kh. legends.²

Obv. : Device and legend in Br. as in silver coins but without mint-mark ; legend generally imperfect.

Rev. : Device as in silver coins ; legend in Kh.

B. With Brāhmī Legend only.³

Obv. : Device and legend in Br. as above.

Rev. : Device as above but no legend.

C. With no legend.

Obv. and *Rev.* Device as above.⁴

Type No. 2.—The *Chatreśvara* Type.⁵ AE. (Later than Amoghabūti).

Obv. : Śiva facing with trident battle-axe in r. hand, and leopard skin hanging from l. arm ; Br. legend—*Bhāgavata Chatreśvara Mahātmanah*.⁶ 'Of the Almighty Mahādeva, the lord, i.e. the coin dedicated to god Maheśvara'. Prof. Rapson identifies the skin on the l. arm with that of an antelope but as leopard skin is associated with god Śiva, so Cunningham's suggestion is more acceptable.

Rev. : Stag standing l. in the middle ; conventional Tree in railing and a vase with flowers or leaves above on the r. ; on the l. the 'triangular-headed' symbol, the *Hill* symbol (the so-called six-arched chaitya) with a *nandipada* above and a zigzag line (not a snake) for ornamental purpose l. ; and a symbol within the horns of the stag.

Almora (or Kedārabhūmi).—Three specimens of coins were found near Almora and these are 'different in fabric from every other known Indian coinage'.⁷ The metal used was 'some alloy of silver' and the coins 'are heavier than any other Indian coins'.⁸ Two of these coins bear the names of Śivadatta and Śivapāli(ta) in Br. letters which are taken to be by Prof. Rapson 'of a date between the 1st century B.C. and the 2nd century A.D.'. The *obv.* type has some similarity with that of a few coins of the Pañchālas, and the 'Stag' on the *rev.* has great resemblance to the 'Stag Type' coins of the Kuṇḍas. Prof. Rapson attributes these coins to a branch of the Kuṇḍas 'whose territories extended further east along the southern slopes of the Himalayas as far as Nepal'.⁹

Type—Legend Śivadatta.¹⁰ AR.

¹ S. CCIM., p. 167 (coin No. 1).

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 170 ; R. IC., Pl. III, 10.

⁶ V. Smith writes *mahāmanah* which is clearly a misprint for *Mahātmanah* (āmā) in the sense of God. *Mahātmanah* means 'of Maheśvara' and *Chatreśvara*—the lord. (R. IC., Pl. III, 10).

⁷ R. IC., p. 10.

⁹ CHI., 529 (Prof. Rapson).

² *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 169.

⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 539.

Obv. : Two symbols between the posts ; the upper one is the triangular symbol, and the lower one may be a *nandipada*(?).

Rev. : The legend—*Sivadatasā* ; in the margin a *stag* and a *tree* within railing ; in the centre, an uncertain type, may be a symbol or a letter.¹

VI. *Mahārāja Janapada*.—Mahārāja is the name of a state and is referred to ' by Pāṇini in a rule which contemplates a man owing loyalty to it '.² Jayaswal is of opinion that during the Śuṅga period, they had a republican constitution, whatever might have been the system in vogue at the time of Pāṇini. These coins have been found in the Punjab, but the exact locality where this Janapada dwelt cannot be determined. The legends are either in Br. or Kh., and this leads Jayaswal to infer that the original Br. legend was changed into Kh., ' when they passed under the influence of the foreign rulers '.³ But on the analogy of the Kulūta coin and the Stag Type copper coins of the Kunindas, the Br. legend might have succeeded the Kh. ; the coins, on this basis, may be dated in the 2nd cent. A.D.

Humped Bull and the Standing Figure Type. AE.

Var. a. *Obv.* : A Humped Bull to l., a crescent over the head and a symbol (*Vajra* ?) over the back.

Rev. : A Standing Male Figure to f. and a Kh. legend around the coin—*Mahārāja Janapadasa*, ' Of the Mahārāja Janapada '.⁴ In Var. b. occurs the same legend in Br. ; ' the Bull with the crescent ' may surely raise a strong presumption that they were Śaiva or the worshippers of Śiva.⁵

VII. *Mālavas*, The.—Alexander, the Great, while marching down the Indus came upon the *Kshudrakas* and the *Mālavas* or as they were spelt by the Greeks the *Oxydrakai* and the *Malloi* respectively.⁶ They had extensive territories and large population. These states had several cities, were very rich and noted for military prowess and had republican constitution, perhaps formed into one League⁷ as suggested by Mr. Jayaswal. Cunningham places the Mālavas near Multan which he identifies with their capital,⁸ or as Jayaswal puts it ' their cities were along the Chenab and their capital was near the Ravi. ' ⁹ Kautilya however does not mention the Kshudrakas and the Mālavas in his list of martial republics, and it has therefore been inferred that they had already come under the Imperial Rule of the Mauryas.¹⁰ The two tribes reappear in the Śuṅga times but later on the Kshudrakas vanish altogether, perhaps they became

¹ *Ibid.*, Pl. V., fig. 17, p. 539.

³ *Ibid.*

⁵ J. HP. I., p. 159.

⁷ ' The Mālavas of the Punjab and the Kshudrakas are associated in Sanskrit literature '—CHL., I, p. 375, footnote 1.

⁸ C. AGI., p. 272.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

² J. HP. I., p. 159.

⁴ C. CAL., p. 69, Pl. IV, fig. 11.

⁶ J. HP. I., p. 68.

⁹ J. HP. I., p. 68.

amalgamated with the Mālavas.¹ In the 2nd century B.C., they are found in their new homes at Karkota Nāgar 'within the territory of Rājā of Uniyāra, a feudatory of Jaypur', 'a distance of twenty-five miles a little east of south from Tonk in Rajputana.'² They migrated *via* Bhātinda in Patiala state 'where they have left traces of their name (in Mālwaī dialect extending from Ferozporē to Bhātinda)';³ and are found fighting with the Uttamabhadras to the west of Ajmer before 58 B.C. They later on occupied the vast territory to the south of Nāgar 'which permanently bears their name'.⁴ There is no doubt that one section of the people remained in North Punjab; and the two Mālava peoples of Prof. Rapson are surely the two branches of the same tribe.⁵ We find them mentioned among the opponents of Samudragupta along with the Yaudheyas, the Madras, the Ārjunāyanas and others. Their subsequent history is lost and they vanish altogether in the later Gupta period. The Mālava coins are generally found in the country 'about Ajmer, Tonk and Chitor'.

V. Smith rightly points out that 'in the vast range of Indian coinages their coins are among the most curious and enigmatical'.⁶ The chronology of the series has not yet been precisely determined. Carlleyle and Cunningham assign them to 250 B.C. to 250 A.D.; Smith and Prof. Rapson are agreed that the initial date is about 150 B.C. but Prof. Rapson pushes them to the 5th century A.D.; Smith however attributes the cessation of this local coinage from Nāgar to 'the extension of the power of Chandragupta II about 380 A.D.'⁷—and he seems right in his estimate. These two great scholars also differ as regards the dates of the various types. Mr. R. O. Douglas⁸ made some suggestions which are very helpful in laying down a few broad principles for classifying the Mālava coins according to chronology. The legends that occur in these coins are—(A) the various forms of the tribal name, (B) and a number of peculiar names of their princes. In class A, we have the following⁹: (a) *Mala*, (b) *Malaya* or *Mālaya*, (c) *Malava* or *Mālava*, (d) *Mālava Jaya*, 'the Mālava Victory', (e) *Mālavanā jaya* and its variants *Malavaṇa Jaya*, *Mālavaṇa Jaya* or

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

³ J. H.P. I, p. 152.

⁵ '..... is it not just possible that there may really have been two peoples: (i) the Mālava of the north represented the Malloi of the Greek writers, by the coins having the inscription Mālavanām Jaya (h), by the Malaya of the Mudrārākṣasa, and by the Mo-lo-so (Mo-lo-po) of Hiouen Thsang; and (ii) the better known Mālava of the south called Mo-lo-po by Hiouen Thsang'—JRAS, (1900), p. 542 (Prof. Rapson).

⁶ S. CCIM., p. 161.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 162; Numis. Supp., No. 37, p. 43 (ASB., Vol. XIX, No. 6 (New series)).

⁸ Douglas, R. O.—On Some Mālava Coins (Numis. Supp., No. 37).

⁹ S. CCIM.; Douglas—On Some Mālava Coins.

² S. CCIM., p. 162.

⁴ *Ibid.*

Malavahna Jaya etc., 'Victory of the Mālavas', (f) *Mālavā nām*; (g) *Malava gaṇasya*, 'Of the Mālava gaṇa',¹ (h) *Malava Sujaya*, 'the well-conquering Mālava (Douglas)'. The last legend is read only in one coin; Mr. Douglas is however confident that it is not 'na' but 'su'. We however must suspend judgment till the discovery of other similar coins.

Mr. Douglas has correctly shown that Malaya or Mālaya is the earlier form of *Mālava*²; the Greek form *Malloi* stands for Malaya and the correct transliteration for Malava would have been *Malluoi*.³ The word '*Mala*' he takes to be the name of a king, the founder of the Mālava tribe. The form *Mālavānā Jaya* is surely of an earlier date than *Mālavānām Jaya*, which may be dated in the 2nd century A.D. Another very important datum can be gleaned from the fact that in some of the coins the legends read from right to left. This clearly shows the influence of the Kharoshthī alphabet and perhaps the Mālavas brought this practice from their early settlements in the 'valleys of the Ravi and the Beas'. These coins with very good reasons can be ascribed to an earlier age. The conclusions based on palæography have to be tested with reference to the form of the legends, the language employed and the way in which the letters are arranged. The adoption of these principles, which are reasonable enough, would necessitate a rearrangement of the different groups of coins in Smith's catalogue. But the most difficult problem is the chronology of the coins which are generally ascribed to the Mālava kings with peculiar names. The relationship of these coins with those that are unmistakably Mālavān is evinced by some of their legends as well as *provenance*. In Smith's catalogue (No. 70), we have a two-line legend, (a) *Malavā*, (b) *Majupa*, both read from right to left. Here Majupa is the name of a king and he must be connected with the Mālavas.

Jayaswal suggested⁴ that the coins with the names of kings belong to the power which superseded the Mālavas. But we cannot accept this view. We find that both the series were contemporaneous from the 2nd century B.C. to 2nd century A.D. The coins with the tribal names in Prākṛit have to be assigned to the 2nd century B.C.; so is the case with the coins of Bhapaṃyana, Yama (Maya ?) and others who have to be placed in the same period on palæographical grounds.⁵ Again the coins with their legends in classical Sanskrit.—'*Mālavānām Jaya*'—come down to the 2nd century A.D., while V. Smith

¹ J. HP. I., p. 153.

² In the *Mudrārākṣasa*, they are referred to as Malayas.

³ Douglas—*On Some Mālava Coins*, pp. 42–47, (Num. Suppl., No. 37).

⁴ J. HP. I., p. 218.

⁵ S. CCIM., 174.

places *Maraja*, *Jāmaka* and others in the 2nd century A.D. and *Paya* in about 300 A.D. Why two series of coins were simultaneously issued remains an enigma. Only plausible suggestions can be made to explain this state of things. We find in the case of some of the tribal issues that these generally had names of the tribe and the executive head (or president) side by side, and sometimes bore the name of the Rājanya or executive head only e.g. Rājanya Mahimitra. In the case of the Mālavas the coins were merely tiny pieces and too small to have the name of the tribe and the head of the state side by side, though we find that on occasions the attempt was made (Smith's coin No. 70). Therefore the Rājanyas issued the coins in their names, also in the name of the tribe of which they were the executive heads. That they were hard-pressed for space is evident from the fact that the word 'Mahārāja' is generally contracted into one letter 'Ma'; and in some cases the last letter is not properly drawn.¹ Another suggestion that can be made is that the coins with the names of princes are those belonging to the feudatory chiefs of Karkota Nāgar who were the subordinate chiefs of the Mālava tribe that had extensive territorial possessions in this region. But this conclusion can be drawn in case the coins with personal names are confined only to that particular town, and the coins with tribal names are found scattered around it. The matter, however, must be left for further investigation.

The personal names in the coin legends are very peculiar and 'are so many puzzles'.² Jayaswal's view that these are abbreviations seems to be the only correct interpretation. The names are surely 'odd', but to take them to be of foreign origin has no justification. The legends are in Brāhmī and in the language of the country; and if we accept Jayaswal's suggestion many of them, though not all, are found to be of Sanskrit origin and perfectly intelligible. Jayaswal takes the letter 'ma' to be the abbreviation for the word 'Mahārāja' and out of the twenty names in Smith's catalogue, eleven are preceded by this letter. The Mālava coins bear a great deal of resemblance to the coins of the Nāgas; and there also we find that abbreviations were necessitated by the limited nature of the space for the legends e.g. 'Mahārāja Gaṇa' for Mahārāja Gaṇendra'.

The Mālava coins are generally very small. A coin in Smith's catalogue (No. 106) 'is one of the smallest coins in the world'; it weighs only 1.7 gr. and has a diameter of .2 inch. The small size of these coins and the metal used (copper) clearly testify to the poverty of the community that was served by them. It is also evident that the Mālavas had very little intercourse with the outside world as these coins are obtainable only at Nāgar and its immediate neighbourhood. It was thus a

¹ S. COIM., Nos. 71, 73, 86, 99, etc.

² J. HP. I, p. 218.

peculiar coinage which merely served the necessities of a community on a low economic level. I follow Smith's classification as the most convenient for reference, though with necessary modifications.

Class A. With the Tribal Name.¹ AE.

Group 1. (a) Second Century B.C. (circular).

The eleven coins in this group are assigned to the second century B.C. by V. Smith. In determining the date of these coins, he relies upon Nos. 1 and 11. These two coins may be ascribed to the 2nd century B.C. on palæographical grounds, and they may belong to that early period as the legend is in Prakṛit—*Mālavāṇa Jaya* in coin No. 11; and the legend in No. 1 also should be read *Mālavāṇa* instead of *Mālavā* (*nām*), as proposed. The other coins with legends in Sanskrit of the classical style must be assigned to a very much later date, perhaps 2nd century A.D.

(i) *Obv.* : *Mala*, Tree in railing.²

Rev. : *Nandipada* Symbol.

The word 'Mala' is taken by Mr. Douglas to be the name of the 'original founder of the tribe'. So these coins assuredly belong to the earlier series.

(ii) *Obv.* : *Mālaya*.³

Rev. : Obscure, irregular dots. 'Mālaya' might have been derived from 'Mala'.—meaning 'the tribe of Mala'.

(iii) *Obv.* : *Hill* Symbol (so-called '*chaitya*' of three arches); above, *Jaya* in large old characters.⁴

Rev. : Radiate sun and another symbol; legend—*Mālavāṇa*, in 2nd century B.C. script (Smith).

Group 1. (b) 100 B.C.—100 A.D. AE.

Obv. : Legend *Mālāva*.

Rev. : A zig-zag line (snake or river?) and a *Nandipada* symbol. (Smith—Nos. 7 and 8).

Group 1. (c) 100 A.D.—200 A.D.

(i) *Obv.* : Legend *Mālavānām Jaya* in classical Sanskrit.

Rev. : Obscure. (Coins Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6 and 9—Smith).

(ii) *Obv.* : Conventional tree in railing with *ja* l. and *ya* r.

Rev. : Perhaps the legend—*Mālavānām*.

Group 2. With *Vase* rev.⁵ (circ.) AE.

Obv. : *Mālava jaya* in script of 2nd century B.C. (?).

Rev. : *Vase* in dotted circle.

¹ S. CCIM., pp. 161-64 and 170-78.

² S. CCIM., p. 174; Douglas, R. O.—*On Some Mālava Coins*, p. 45 (coin No. 2).

³ *Ibid.*, No. 1.

⁴ S. CCIM., 171 (coin No. 11). The coin No. 1 also belongs to the same type; the legend should be read as *Mālavāṇa* and not *Mālavā* (*nām*). The other nine coins of this group must be considered to be of a much later date.

⁵ S. CCIM., p. 171.

Group 3. *Tree and Vase Type* (rec. and circ.). AE.

Obv.: Tree in railing in centre; legend—*Malavāṇa jaya*. The other variants are *Malava jaya*, *Mālavanā jaya*, *Mālavanā jaya* (or *jayo*), *Mālavanā jaya* or *Malavahṇa jaya*. It is the Prākṛit form and may be dated in the 1st century B.C. or A.D. The variants of the legend may supply a chronological clue, if we could only determine the order of these linguistic variations with the lapse of time.

Rev.: Vase in dotted border.

Group 4. With *Lion rev.* (rec.). AE.

Obv.: The legend—*Mālava jaya* and other variants.

Rev.: Lion standing l.

Group 5. With *Bull rev.* (rec. & circ.). AE.

Obv.: *Malavahṇa jaya* and other variants.

Rev.: Humped Bull walking l.

These coins seem to be of a later date, perhaps 1st century A.D. Coins Nos. 41, 47 and 49 in Smith's catalogue clearly do not belong to this type. In No. 57 the legend is reversed; it is to be read from right to left, and this is surely of an earlier date, perhaps 2nd century B.C.

Group 6. *King's head rev.* (circ). AE.

Mr. Douglas seems to be correct in his statement that coins Nos. 58, 59, 60 and 72a in Smith's catalogue are really Nāga coins. No. 61 is a Mālava coin but cannot be included in this group, as its *rev.* is very obscure. The similarity of the coins of this group with the Nāga coins was recognised by Smith also.

Obv.: The legend should be read as—*Mahāgaṇasa jaya*, i.e. 'Victory to Mahārāja Gaṇapati'—'distinct points of similarity in design between them and the coins of Mahārāja Gaṇapati of Nāga'.

Rev.: King's head r. with curly hair. Prof. Rapson does not accept Smith's identification. Really it is very difficult to recognise the type as a 'curly head'; it may be a 'fantail peacock'.

Group 7. *Fantail Peacock rev.* AE.

These coins are of an early date, perhaps 2nd century B.C.; the letters read from right to left.

Obv.: The central device is very obscure, it is not possible to accept Smith's opinion that it stands for a female figure (Smith—No. 63). The legend seems to be *Mālava gaṇasya jaya*.

Rev.: Peacock facing with expanded tail, covering the whole surface of the coin.

Group 8. *Miscellaneous Devices.* AE.

Some of the coins are of an early date. Coin No. 66 is assigned to the 2nd century B.C. by Smith; No. 67 also belongs to the same period at least, as it has the legend 'Mala'; Nos. 67a and 67b are of a much later date and No. 64 perhaps belongs to the 2nd century A.D. This group has two coins with tree on the *obv.* and one with an open lotus flower.

In three other coins, we have only the variants of the 'Mālava' legend. On the *rev.* Smith identified a Nandipada; but a snake, a peacock and a solar symbol as suggested by him cannot be made out.

Class B.—With the names of Mālava chiefs (?).¹ AE.

(a) The Early kings—100 B.C. or earlier.

(1) *Bhapaṃyana*, or *Bhampāyana* (Jayaswal), c. 200 B.C. The 'tree in railing' Type. The animal on the *rev.* seems to be a recumbent Bull and not a lion or tiger as suggested by Smith. (Coin No. 68).

(2) *Yama* or *Maya*.—2nd century B.C.

The 'Tree in railing' Type; on the *rev.* 'Mālava' Symbol; I do not find the snake (Smith No. 69).

(3) *Majupa*, i.e. Mahārāja *Jupa* (Yūpa). The legend in two lines—(i) *Malavā*, (ii) *Majupa*, both read from right to left. The *rev.* is obscure, perhaps a lion. It is an early coin (200 B.C.), *Jupa* was surely a Mālava chief (Smith—No. 70).

(b) From c. 100 B.C.—100 A.D.

(1) *Mapojaya*. Jayaswal takes it to be Mahājaya i.e. Mahārāja *Jaya*. Two Types of coins—(1) with lion *rev.* (No. 71), and (ii) with elephant *rev.* (No. 72); the single line legend on the *obv.* *Mapojaya* or *Mahājaya* (?).

(2) *Mapaya*, or Mahārāja *Paya*, perhaps the same man as *Paya* and therefore of a later date—acc. to Smith c. 300 A.D. Type (i) Humped Bull *rev.* and single line legend *Mapaya obv.* (Smith—Nos. 73–78); (iii) the same *obv.* but lion *rev.* (?) (No. 79). No 72a is a Nāga coin and referred to above.

(3) *Magajaśa* is the abbreviation of Mahārāja *Gajasa*,—'Of Mahārāja *Gaja*'. (4) *Magaja* is the identical name—'Mahārāja *Gaja*'. So the coins Nos. 80–84 (Smith) may be taken to be the coins of one and the same king. Type—(i) *obv.* *Magajaśa*; *rev.* defaced. (Nos. 80 and 81); (ii) *Obv.* *Magaja*; *rev.* elephant or obscure (Nos. 82–84).

(5) *Magojava*, or *Magajava* (Jayaswal), i.e. Mahārāja *Gajava* (*Gajapa* ?). Perhaps this name is identical with *Gajava*; Legend—*Magojava obv.*; Lion sitting *rev.* (Nos. 85–87).

(6) *Gajava* (*Gajapa* ?). Perhaps identical with king No. 5; Legend *Gajava* on *obv.*; and Lion (?) *rev.*

(7) *Gojara*.—Legend *Gojara obv.*; and animal running *rev.* (No. 88).

(8) *Māsapa*, or *Masapa* or Mahārāja *Sarpa* (Jayaswal)—the legend *Māsapa* on the *obv.*; defaced *rev.*

(9) *Pachha*. Legend *Pachha* on the *obv.*; and king's head (?) *rev.*

(10) *Magachha* or Mahārāja *Gachha*: the Bull Type—the legend *Magachha* on the *obv.*; and Bull l. on the *rev.* (No. 94)

(11) *Jampaya*.—The Legend *Jamapaya* on the *obv.*, the blank or defaced *rev.* (No. 99).

(c) The Late Period—c. 100 A.D.—300 A.D.

(1) *Yama*,—the second of this name. A two-line legend—
(a) *Yama*, (b) illegible; and a Bull on the *rev.*; about 100 A.D. (No. 92).

(2) *Jāmaka*,—the legend—*Jāmaka* on the *obv.*; and *rev.* defaced. (No. 98).

(3) *Mahārāya*,—the legend in two lines,—(a) (*Ma*)h (ā),
(b) *rāya*; *rev.* blank or defaced—2nd century A.D. (No. 101).

(4) *Maraja*-Legend *Maraja* *obv.*; Bull *rev.* (Nos. 102 and 103). It is perhaps an abbreviation for Mahārāja; and Mahārāya may be the name of the same king, specially as the coin is also dated in the 2nd century A.D.

(5) *Mapaka*,—Mahārāja Paka—The Bull *rev.*; and legend *Mapaka* on the *obv.*—2nd century A.D.

(6) *Paya*.—The Bull Type with legend *Paya* on the *obv.* about 300 A.D. For another *Paya* of an earlier date see *Mapaya*; or he may be the same man as the Type is identical, and the characters are of a late date (*Mapaya*, No. 74).

Class C—Without Legend. AE.

(1) *Peacock and the human figure.*

Obv.: Peacock facing front with expanded tail.

Rev.: Squatted human figure to l. with obscure marks on the r. (No. 104).

(2) *Vase and Bull.*

Obv.: Vase containing flowers.

Rev.: Bull standing l. (No. 105).

(3) *Palm-leaf and the Vase.*

Obv.: Pinnate Palm-leaf.

Rev.: Vase; the smallest coin in the collection, only 1.7 gr. in weight and .2 in diameter (No. 106).

(4) *Palm-leaf and the Bull.*

Obv.: Pinnate Palm-leaf; *rev.*: Bull standing l. (Nos. 107 and 108).

(5) *Tree in railing.*

Obv.: Tree in railing, perhaps with legend *Jaya*; Analogous to coin No. 4 of Smith and similar to coin No. 26 of Douglas.

Rev. indistinct.

(6) The *Bull* with large horns.

Obv.: Bull with large horns and spreading ears standing l.

Rev.: defaced.

(7) *Lotus Flower.*¹

(a) *Obv.*: 'Mālava' Symbol; *Rev.* Conventional Lotus Flower.

(b) *Obv.*: defaced; *Rev.*: open Lotus Flower.

¹ Douglas, R. O.—*On Some Mālava Coins* (Nos. 29 and 30).

VIII. *Sibis*, The.—The *Siboi* were the neighbours of the *Mālavas* (the *Malloi*) in the Punjab during the time of Alexander.¹ They are referred to as *Sivis* in the *Jātaka* and the *Saibyās* by Patañjali who took *Sibi* to be the 'name of a country or state'.² Later on like the *Mālavas*, they migrated from the Punjab to Rajputana³ and their coins are found at Nagari near Chitor. These coins bear the name of their country or nation :—*Majhimikāya Sibi Janapadasa*—'Of the country (or Nation) of the *Sibis* of *Madhyamikā*'.⁴ *Madhyamikā* therefore seems to be their capital and its identification with Nagari is practically certain.⁵ These coins are very rare and the metal is copper.

Obv.: The Upper Part of a *Trisūla* ('Cross'—Cunningham) in middle with a small symbol in each angle; to the r. a straight tree rising from a small circle: Legend in Br.—*Majhimikāya Sibi Janapadasa*.

Rev.: *Hill* surmounted by the *Nandipada* with a river symbol below. The coins are earlier than the Christian Era.

IX. *Vimakas*, The.⁶—They are not known from any other source. The coins of their king *Rudravarma* is included by Cunningham among those of the *Audumbaras*. It has a great similarity with the 'Mahadeva'⁷ coin and bears the same type. There seems to be some sort of relationship between the *Vimakas* and the *Audumbaras*; perhaps they were neighbours.

The *Elephant and Bull* Type. AE.

Obv.: The Elephant with upraised trunk moving to r. towards trident battle-axe of *Śiva*; Br. Legend.

Rev.: Humped Indian Bull to r. and a symbol under head; it cannot be a flower as suggested by Cunningham. It has a great similarity with the symbol on the *rev.* of the *Vṛishṇi* coin (C. CAL., Pl. IV, fig. 15); and I take it to be a *Chakra* or discus. Kh. Legend.

The Legend.—

Obv. Br.: *rājñavemakisarudravarmasa* (v) i

Rev. Kh.: *rañave vu* (.) *ma*—*vijayata* (sa)⁸='(coin of) king *Rudravarma*, the *Vemaki* or *Vaimaki*—the king of the *Vimakas*, the Conqueror'.

X. *Vṛishṇis*, The.—The *Vṛishṇis* of old lived at *Mathurā*. According to the account of the *Mahā-Bhārata*, they went to *Dwarakā* when hard-pressed by *Jarāsandha*.⁹ But a branch of it must have remained in the original home; and in the *Śuṅga*

¹ J. HP. I, p. 68.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁵ D. GDAMI., p. 116.

⁶ JRAS., 1900 (Prof. Rapson), p. 429, footnote 2; C. CAL., p. 68, Pl. IV, fig. 6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, fig. 5.

⁸ JRAS., 1900, p. 412 (Bergny) and pp. 428 and 429 (Prof. Rapson).

⁹ D. GDAMI., p. 58 (*Dvāravati*); J. HP. I, p. 77.

² *Ibid.*, p. 153, footnote 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*

times (2nd century B.C.), they issued coins of which perhaps only two remain.¹ But shortly afterwards, they fell under the influence of the Śaka invaders, and Jayaswal comes to this conclusion from the fact that the Brāhmī legend of the coin was coupled with the 'script of the invader' i.e. Kharoshthī.² The legend on the coins is a peculiar one, different from that of the republican tribes—the Mālavas, the Ārjunāyanas, the Yaudheyas and others. It is not merely in the name of the Gaṇa but in the name, of the Rājanya and Gaṇa of the Vṛishnis.³ Jayaswal tried to clear up this difficulty and showed that in the Vṛishni Gaṇa, the executive power was vested in two Rājanyas.⁴ The coin in Cunningham's book, Pl. IV, fig. 15 is in silver.⁵

Type—*The Half-Lion and Half-Elephant*. AR.

Obv.: A pillar, with half-lion and half-elephant surmounted by a symbol and surrounded by a railing; legend in Brāhmī.⁶

Rev.: The same legend in Kh. and the so-called *Dharma-chakra* of Cunningham. Jayaswal has clearly shown that it is the state symbol of the Vṛishnis⁷—the weapon '*chakra* or discus, which was their symbol according to tradition as early as the time of Rājanya Kṛishṇa'. Whatever doubt we might have as regards the correctness of the identification is set at rest 'by the cutting edges and the projecting points on the rim'.⁸ The Legend⁹:—

Obv.: Br. Vṛshnir(ā)jajñā ganasyatratarasya.

Rev.: Kh. Vṛishnira—ṇṇa(ga) . . . (t)ra.—

'Of the Vṛishni Rājanya (and) Gaṇa—the protector of the country (Jayaswal).'

It seems to be a better interpretation to take the compound literally.—

Vṛshni-rāja-Jñāganasya, 'Of Jñāgaṇa, the Vṛshni King'. The name of the king who issued this coin is, therefore, Jñāgaṇa. The word *trātārasya* means 'of the Saviour,' corresponding to Sans. *trātuḥ*.

XI. *Uddehikas*, The.—The Audēhikas or Auddehikas are mentioned by Varāha Mihira in his *Bṛihat Saṁhitā* and are placed in the central Region.¹⁰ Prof. Rapson concludes from 'the general similarity between the coins of Uddehika and Eran' that the 'two places were not far apart'. The exact

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁵ C. CAL., p. 70.

⁷ J. HP. I, p. 157.

⁹ JRAS., 1900, p. 416 (A. V. Bergny).

Studies, p. 398, footnote 2.

¹⁰ JRAS. (1900), pp. 98-102.

² *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁶ *Ibid.*, J. HP. I, p. 157.

⁸ *Ibid.*, footnote 2.

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determination of the locality must await further research. These coins, however, 'mark an interesting stage in the art of coin-making in India'. The symbols instead of being impressed on the coins separately by the different punches are struck from a single die which is made up of a collection of such symbols. The Brāhmī alphabet is of an early period and the coin may safely be assigned to the 3rd century B.C. We have the name of only one king Sūryamitra.

Type No. 1.—The *Humped Bull Type*.¹ AE.

Obv.: Humped Bull to r.; above, tree within railing in a horizontal position.

Rev.: The Legend in old Brāhmī—*Udehaki*, 'the Prince of the Uddehikas'; three symbols above,—the '*Mālava*' symbol, two *fishes* in a pond, and *tree* within railing.

Type No. 2.—The *Elephant Type*.² AE.

Obv.: The Elephant to l.; beneath 'five-hooded snake, and (?) tree within railing, both represented horizontally'. The coin is almost obliterated; so the symbols are obscure and doubtful. The countermark is the 'triangular-headed' symbol at top left. This symbol is very common. Prof. Rapson characterises it as a 'curious symbol' which 'occurs so frequently on coins of all kinds—punch-marked, cast and struck—and which no one seems to have explained'. Sometimes it is put within a railing as on many of the coins of Bahasatimitra of Kausāmbī. There is no doubt that it is an auspicious sign like the *svastika*. The equilateral triangle is the 'symbol of God manifested in the cosmos';³ and when it stands 'on its apex it signifies expansion or evolution, and like the Swastika, the ascending creative force—or life'.⁴ This may explain its general use but what the two small protruding lines on the right of the triangle represent, cannot yet be determined.⁵

XII. *Yaudheyas*, The.—They are included among the *Ayudhajivin Saṅghas* and they are referred to as a '*janapada*, a nation or country i.e. 'a political community'.⁶ They 'considered military art as the vital principle of their constitution',⁷ and were 'specially noted as warriors'.⁸ The word *yaudheya* is derived from *yudha*, battle⁹ or from a personal name,¹⁰ though the former one seems to be more acceptable. Pāṇini places them in the Vāhika country¹¹ along with other republican states. There is no doubt that the Vāhikas were in the Punjab; and Jayaswal takes the word Vāhika to mean 'the country of the rivers',¹² comprising the Sindh valley and the Punjab. Arrian

¹ *Ibid.*, Indian Coins and Seals I, fig. 1.

³ Havell, E. B.—*The Ideals of Indian Art*, p. 86.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ See chapter on *Symbols*.

⁶ J. HP. I, pp. 35 and 36.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁸ C. CAL., p. 75.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ J. HP. I, p. 134.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, fig. 2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

mentions a powerful republic on the east side of the Hyphasis or Beas. Their country was very fertile and the inhabitants were agriculturists but brave in war. Jayaswal suggests with reference to the find-spot of the Yaudheya coins that this unnamed republic on the Beas was probably that of the Yaudheyas.¹ Alexander did not cross the river and had no opportunity of testing the military prowess of this renowned people. The Purāṇas give a monarchical constitution to the Yaudheyas.² Perhaps the original monarchy was later on replaced by an aristocracy of 5,000 councillors—virtually a republic.³

The Yaudheyas survived the Maurya Empire, the Satraps of Mathurā and the Kushanas. The 2nd century A.D. 'was full of their military glory'⁴ and they are referred to in Rudradāman's (150 A.D.) inscription. In the 4th century A.D., the Yaudheyas appear in the inscription of Samudragupta as one of the frontier tribes of the Gupta Empire. Perhaps they left their original home during Kushana period and were in Western Rajputana during the time of Rudradāman. Cunningham identified the Yaudheyas with the *Johiyas* of Bhawalpur who 'now occupy the country on both banks of the Sutlej, and the lower Doab between the Sutlej was named after them—the *Johiyabār*'.⁵ When the Yaudheyas passed away from history cannot exactly be determined but it is certain that by the 7th century A.D. they were no more.⁶ Thus they had a political existence of more than thousand years credited to them.⁷ 'The coins of the Yaudheyas are found in the Eastern Punjab, and all over the country between the Sutlej and the Jumna rivers. Two large finds have been made at *Sonpath*, between Delhi and Karnāl'.⁸ Some of them were found in the Kāngrā District and a great many at Jogadheri in the Eastern Punjab; and Cunningham procured his silver piece⁹ and 300 copper pieces 'between the Sutlej and the Jumna rivers'. So it is evident that the Yaudheya territories were extensive; 'the cities of Lahore, Bhawalpur, Bikaner, Ludhiana and Delhi roughly indicate the limits of the tribal territory'.¹⁰

The Yaudheya coins fall into 3 classes—(a) The earliest, 'the Bull and Elephant Type' coins have been 'dated a little before or after the Christian era'.¹¹ These are small copper coins of rough workmanship but have some resemblance 'with the earlier coins of the Audumbaras and the Kunindas', and on this ground Prof. Rapson assigns them to about 100 B.C.¹²; and

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 67 and 74.

⁵ C. CAL., p. 76.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹⁰ S. Majumdar—Notes on C. AGI., p. 690.

¹² R. IC., p. 15.

² J. HP. I, p. 74.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁶ J. HP. I, p. 151.

⁸ C. CAL., p. 76.

¹¹ S. CCIM., p. 165.

these may be as old as the Śunga period.¹ (b) The Brahmanya Deva coins are assigned by Smith to the 2nd century A.D. This was the period of their great military glory,² and it is but natural that they took Kārttikeya the war-god for their coin type. So it is not possible to accept Prof. Rapson's view³ that these coins are to be dated after the 'warrior' type. (c) The 'warrior' type coins have surely been imitated from Kushana models,⁴ and we can safely accept Smith's view that these were in circulation up to 'the completion of the conquest of Northern India by Chandragupta II about 380 A.D.'⁵ These copper coins are big in size and better executed than the rude coins of class (b). It appears that the Yaudheyas were divided into 3 distinct clans,⁶ and those of the second and third clans were 'distinguished by numeral syllables and special symbols'.⁷ Some coins have 'dvi' (two) and some 'tri' (three), and these obviously refer to their three sections. The coins of the third class are 'the least numerous'.⁸

Type No. 1. The *Bull and Elephant Type*⁹ (c. 100 B.C.).
A.E.

Obv. : Bull standing r. facing a curved object (the national standard ?) within a railing; 'early' Br. legend—*Yadheyana*, (Yaudheyānām), 'of the Yaudheyas'.¹⁰ In some of the specimens, there is another legend under the Bull which no body has been able to read; it seems to end in *me*.¹¹ In other coins of the same type in brass or similar alloy occurs the legend—*Kri ya(dhe)yana*¹²; the second word *Yadheyana* is certain and for the first word various suggestions are made—(a) *Kripadhanaba* (Rodgers); (b) *Bhūmidhanusha* (Cunningham); (c) *Bhūpadhanusha* (Smith), and (d) *Bahudhanake* (Rapson).¹³ Smith is almost positive about the reading *Bhūpadhanusha*, and as this word means 'of the Lord of the Desert' and seems to fit in with the locality of the Yaudheyas, its correctness is beyond doubt. But there may be several varieties of this inscription as pointed out by Prof. Rapson.

Rev. : Elephant walking r.; *nandipada* symbol above and a 'scythe-like' object.¹⁴ In some specimens the curved line under the elephant is clear.¹⁵

¹ J. HP. I, p. 150.

³ R. IC., p. 15 (Sec. 60).

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷ S. CCIM., p. 165.

⁹ S. CCIM., Pl. XXI, 13 and 14, pp. 180 and 181; C. CAL., Pl. VI, figs. 2-4; R. IC., Pl. III, 13.

¹⁰ S. CCIM., p. 180 (No. 1).

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 181 (No. 5).

¹³ JRAS., (1900), p. 107, footnote 1. Recently coin moulds bearing the legend *y(au)dheyāna bahu-dhanake* have been found at Khokra Kot near Rohtak by Dr. Birbal Sahni (*Current Science*, May 1936, p. 796ff.).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 180 (No. 3), Pl. XXI, 13.

² *Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁴ *Ibid.*, S. CCIM., p. 165.

⁶ J. HP. I, pp. 145 and 160.

⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.* (No. 2).

¹⁵ C. CAL., Pl. VI, fig. 3.

Type No. 2. The *Three Symbols* Type.¹ AE.

Two coins are included by Cunningham among those of the Yaudheyas; one of them he found at Behat with other Yaudheya coins. These might be earlier than the 'Bull and Elephant' Type, but the identification is not absolutely certain. One of them is a single-die coin² with only three symbols; the other is broken, has three symbols, and part of a legend in indistinct Br. characters.³

Obv.: The Three Symbols.—Tree in railing in the middle is common. In the single-die coin, the symbol to the l. is one of four circles ('Mālava' Symbol) and the other on the r. is perhaps a conventional tree like the symbol in coin No. 3 of Balabhūti of Mathurā (S. CCIM., p. 192). The double-die coin has the 'triangular-headed' symbol on the l. and a circular object (*chakra*?) on the r.; and inscription only partly legible—*Mahārāja(sa)*. The *rev.* indistinct perhaps a few letters.

Type No. 3—The *Brahmanyadeva* Type.⁴ AR. and AE.

Var. a.—Second Century A.D.

Obv.: Six-headed god (*Kārttikeya*) standing on lotus facing with l. hand on hip and r. hand raised and a barbed spear on the l.; the legend completed from a number of coins,—*Bhāgavatah svāmīno Brahmanyadevasya*, 'coin of (dedicated to) Almighty Lord Brahmanyadeva'. Here Brahmanyadeva is not the name of a king as presumed by Smith.⁵ It is surely the national god *Kārttikeya*⁶ the war-god, to whom the warlike Yaudheyas dedicated their coins. Whatever doubt we might have is set at rest by the substitution of *Kumarasa*,⁷ another name of *Kārttikeya* for Brahmanyadevasya in some of the coins. In a few of these coins, the legends end in words like *drama*, *dama* or *darma*. V. Smith was not sure about its meaning and could not explain it⁸; it is however only a variant of the Greek word *drachm*, signifying here 'a coin'. In some specimens the god stands on a pedestal,⁹ and a vase also occurs in the r. field in a few cases.¹⁰ *Rev.*: Six-headed figure standing on lotus, facing, tree in railing r. and the so-called *chaitya* with umbrella (the *Hill* symbol) and *nandipada* above it on the l.¹¹ In some specimens the figure stands on a bent line,¹² and in others it

¹ C. CAI., p. 77, Pl. VI, figs. 1 and 5.

² *Ibid.*, Pl. VI, fig. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, Pl. VI, fig. 5.

⁴ S. CCIM., pp. 181-82, Pl. XXI, 15-17; C. CAI., p. 78, Pl. VI, figs. 9-12; R. IC., Pl. III, 15.

⁵ S. CCIM., p. 181, footnote 1.

⁶ R. IC., Pl. III, 15; J. HP. I, pp. 150 and 218 'On the second type they give the representation of God Kārttikeya, the presiding deity of Heroism and War and name him on the coin. In fact the coin itself is significantly dedicated to the Deity of Heroism. In other words the figure is their *La Liberté*'.

⁷ S. CCIM., p. 182 (Coin Nos. 15-17).

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 182, footnote 1.

⁹ S. CCIM., pp. 181-82 (Nos. 9 and 17).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 182 (No. 15).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 181 (No. 8).

¹² *Ibid.*, (No. 9).

has only one head radiate.¹ V. Smith takes the figure to be a goddess but his identification does not appear to be correct. It seems to be a male figure and may represent *Kārttikeya*. But in one of the coins (C. CAL., Pl. VI, fig. 12)² the figure is single-headed radiate and is undoubtedly a female. What it stands for cannot be definitely ascertained. It must be a goddess worshipped by the Yaudheyas. Among the symbols,—*svastika*³ also appears in some coins.

Var. b.⁴ *Obv.* : As in Var. a.

Rev. : Quadruped, perhaps stag standing to r. ; above a (?) shrine with curved roof,⁵ or a *chaitya* (Hill) to r. and a symbol above and the wavy line (the snake or river).⁶

The *Brahmanyadeva Type II.*⁷ AE.

Obv. : Single-headed god (*Kārttikeya*) radiate facing, vase to r. ; Legend—*Brahmanyadevasya drama*, 'the coin of Brahmanyadeva'.

Rev. : Quadruped (Stag ?) standing l. facing (?) *Tree, Vase* with streamers on the r. and a *dotted circle*.⁸ In another coin, we have in the place of 'the vase and circle' a crescent and the zig-zag line (river ?) below.⁹

Type No. 4. *The Warrior Type*.¹⁰ AE. (2nd century A.D.).

Var. a. No *Obv.* numeral, and no *rev.* symbol.¹¹

Obv. : A Warrior standing, facing f. grasping spear in r. hand with l. hand on hip ; peacock at his l. foot ; Br. legend—*Yadhayaganasya jaya*, (*Yaudheyaganasya jaya*), 'Victory to the Yaudheya tribe'. This figure of a warrior with a spear 'in the pose of a dignified 'tri-bhaṅga' represents the type of their citizen-soldier'.¹²

Rev. : A robed male figure walking l. with r. hand extended and l. hand on hip, like *Mīro* on Kushana coins ; dotted circle.

Var. b. Numeral *Dvi* on *obv.* ; *Vase* on *rev.*¹³

Obv. : As in Var. a. ; the numeral '*dvi*' (second) over r. shoulder.

Rev. : As in Var. a. : Vase containing leaves (not flowers) in l. field and a symbol 'with three points and three dots' in r. field. The 'Vase with leaves' is even now used in Hindu religious ceremonies and is looked upon as an auspicious object.

Var. c.—Numeral '*Tri*' on *obv.* ; Shell on *rev.*¹⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, (No. 16).

² C. CAL., p. 78.

³ S. CCIM., p. 181 (No. 9).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 182 (No. 20) ; C. CAL., Pl. VI, fig. 13.

⁵ S. CCIM., p. 182 (No. 20).

⁶ C. CAL., Pl. VI, fig. 13.

⁷ S. CCIM., p. 182 (Nos. 18a, 18b, and 19).

⁸ *Ibid.*, (No. 18b).

⁹ *Ibid.*, (No. 19).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 182-83, Pl. XXI, 18-20 ; C. CAL., Pl. VI, 6-8 ; R. IC., Pl. III, 14.

¹¹ S. CCIM., Pl. XXI, 18.

¹² J. HP. I., p. 150.

¹³ S. CCIM., Pl. XXI, 19 ; C. CAL., Pl. VI, 7 ; R. IC., Pl. III, 14.

¹⁴ S. CCIM., Pl. XXI, 20 ; C. CAL., Pl. VI, 8.

Obv. : As in Var. a. and b. ; *tri* (third) over r. shoulder.

Rev. : As in Var. a. and b. ; *Shell* instead of Vase ; Shell is also an auspicious object ; and a symbol composed of 'two zig-zag lines with a line between'. The numerals *Dvi* and *Tri* refer to the second and third sections of the Yaudheya Gana.

XIII. *Rājanya Janapada*.¹—The identification of Rājanya coins was long delayed due to the wrong reading of the first word as *Rājña* or *Rajña*.² V. Smith read the three letters as *Rajana* and took it to be equivalent to Sanskrit *rājāṇya* or *Kshatriya*.³ He explained the legend *Rajaña janapadasa*⁴ as meaning 'coin of the Kshatriya country'. But Mr. Jayaswal was the first to correct this mistake. He takes *Rājanya* as 'the proper name of a political people'.⁵ They came on the scene about 200–100 B.C. and issued coins in the name of their country. The Rājanyas as a people are referred to in 'Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali and also by the Mahā-Bhārata'.⁶ Rājanya coins are procurable in Mathurā⁷ ; so Smith takes their territory to be not far from that city and locates it 'in some part of eastern Rājputana', perhaps in Dholpur State.⁸ But as 'coins of this type are found on the Manaswāl plateau, Hoshiārpur District',⁹ Mr. Jayaswal presumes this to be their home.¹⁰ The type of these coins is closely related to that of the Northern Satraps of Mathurā¹¹ and the legends are either in Kh. or Br. Prof. Rapson thinks that the coins with Kh. legends belong to an earlier date¹² and the Rājanya coins are ascribed to 2nd or 1st century B.C.

Type No. 1. *Standing Figure Type*.¹³ AE.

Var. A. With *Kharoshthī* legend (cast or die-struck).

Obv. : Standing figure, perhaps a deity, with r. hand raised, as on N. Satrap coins ; Kh. legend—*Rajaña janapadasa*, (coin) of the Rājanya Janapada.

Rev. : Humped Bull standing l., a symbol above ; die-struck and extremely rare.

Var. B. With *Brāhmī* legend.¹⁴ AE.

Obv. : Similar ; same legend in Br.

Rev. : Bull standing l. in a rayed circle ; cast in high relief (No. 2—Smith), or die-struck (No. 3—Smith).

Type No. 2. *Tree in railing and Lion Type*.¹⁵ AE.

Obv. : Tree in railing Br. legend . . . (?) Janapada(sa).

Rev. : Lion standing l., facing (?) a post ; indistinct Br. legend, perhaps including *Rājño*.

¹ R. IC., p. 12 (Sec. 47).

² S. CCIM., p. 164.

³ J. HP. I., p. 158.

⁷ S. CCIM., p. 164.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹ R. IC., p. 12 ; S. CCIM., p. 165.

¹³ S. C. CCIM., p. 179 (No. 1).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 180 (No. 8).

² C. CAL., p. 89.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*,

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

¹⁰ J. HP. I., p. 159.

¹² R. IC., p. 12.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

ABBREVIATIONS.

1. ASI-AR.—The Archaeological Survey of India—Annual Report.
2. ASB.—The Asiatic Society of Bengal.
3. C. ASR.—Cunningham, A.—The Archaeological Survey Report.
4. C. AGI.—Cunningham, A.—The Ancient Geography of India (Calcutta, 1924).
5. C. CAI.—Cunningham, A.—The Coins of Ancient India.
6. CHI.—The Cambridge History of India, Vol. I.
7. D. GDAMI.—Dey, M.—The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India.
8. JRAS.—The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
9. JBORS.—The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
10. J. HP. I.—Jayaswal, K. P.—Hindu Polity, Vol. I.
11. S. CCIM.—Smith, V. A.—The Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

THE TRIBES : THEIR TYPES AND SYMBOLS.

Types. Animals—

- (a) Bull : (i) Humped, (ii) without Hump, (iii) recumbent.—Audumbaras : (i), Arjunāyanas (i), Mahārāja Janapada (i), Mālavas (i), (ii) and (iii), Vimakas (i), Uddehikas (i), Yaudheyas (i), Rājanyas (i), and Nāgas (iii).
- (b) Camel : Arjunāyanas.
- (c) Elephant : Arjunāyanas, Audumbaras, Mālavas, Vimakas, Vṛishṇis (Half-Elephant), Uddehikas, Yaudheyas.
- (d) Lion : Mālavas, Rājanyas.
- (e) Stag : Kuṇindas, (Almora Branch), Mālavas, Yaudheyas (?).
- (f) Half-Lion and Half-Elephant : Vṛishṇis.

Bird : Fantail Peacock—Mālavas.

Tree—

- (a) Pinnate Palmleaf—Mālavas.
- (b) Tree-in-Railing—Mālavas, Rājanyas, Audumbaras. Human Figure—Standing, Arjunāyanas, Aśvakas, Audumbaras, Mahārāja Janapada, Yaudheyas (warrior), Rājanyas ; Mālavas (squatted).

Weapons—

- (a) Chakra—Vṛishṇis.
- (b) Triśūla—Sibis.
- (c) Wheel—Kulūtas, Nāgas.

Religious—

- (a) Chatreśvara Type—Kuṇindas.
- (b) Brahmanyadeva Type—Yaudheyas.
- (c) Viśvāmitra Type—Audumbaras.
- (d) Vase—(with leaves), Mālavas.
- (e) Sun—(?) Audumbaras (perhaps Pañchāla coin).

(f) Temple—Audumbaras.

(d) A Scythe-like object—Yaudheyas (Smith—No. 3) uncertain.



(e) Symbol with three points and Three dots (?) No. 27.
(Smith)—Yaudheyas.



King's Head—(?) perhaps Fantail Peacock—Mālavas.
Warrior—Yaudheyas.

Symbols. Animals—

- (a) Bull,—Rājanyas, Nāgas (recumbent), Mālavas.
- (b) Elephant—Mālavas.
- (c) Lion—Rājanyas, Mālavas.
- (d) Snake—Mālavas, Uddehikas (five-hooded).

Birds—

- (a) Cock (or peacock)—Yaudheyas.
- (b) Peacock—Mālavas, (also fantail).

Tree—

- (a) Tree-in-Railing,—Audumbaras, Kuṇindas, (Kuṇinda Branch of Almora), Sibis (rising from a circle), Rājanyas, Mālavas, Uddehikas, Yaudheyas, or (conventional).
- (b) Lotus flower—(open or conventional) Mālavas, Audumbaras (?).
- (c) Pinnate Palm-leaf,—Mālavas.

Human Figure—

- (a) Female with left hand on hip—Kuṇindas, Mālavas ? (No. 63—Smith's Catalogue).
- (b) Squatted—Mālavas.

Weapons—

- (a) Chakra—Vimakas, Yaudheyas.
- (b) Trisūla—Audumbaras (their Standard ?), Vimakas.

National Standard—

- (a) Trisūla or Trident Battle-Axe.—Audumbaras.
- (b) Pillar with Svastika,—Audumbaras.
- (c) Shaft surmounted by a Wheel—Audumbaras.
- (d) Curved object within Railing—Yaudheyas.
Hill—(so-called Chaitya)—Aśvakas, Kulūtas (peculiar), Kuṇindas (with Umbrella), Sibis, Yaudheyas, Mālavas.
- (b) Pile of Balls,—Aśvakas.

Auspicious Objects—

- (a) Shell—Yaudheyas (Section *Tri*).
- (b) Vase—Kuṇindas (with flower or leaves), Yaudheyas (with Umbrella), Kuṇindas.

Auspicious Signs—

- (a) Mālava (or Ujjain) Symbol—Mālavas, Uddehikas, Yaudheyas.



- (b) Nandipada—Aśvakas, Audumbaras, Kulūtas, Kuṇindas, Sibis, Vṛishṇis, Yaudheyas.



- (c) Svastika—Aśvakas, Kulūtas (curved), Kuṇindas, Yaudheyas.



- (d) Triangular-headed Symbol—Kuṇindas, Uddehikas, Yaudheyas.



- (e) Two S's with a line between—Kulūtas, Kuṇindas, Yaudheyas.



Solar etc.—

- (a) Radiate sun—Mālavas.
- (b) Crescent—Mahārāja Janapada, Yaudheyas.
- Wavy Line—(Vine branches ?) Aśvakas.
- Zig-zag Line—Aśvakas (river) Audumbaras, Kuṇindas (ornamental ?), Sibis, Mālavas, Yaudheyas (snake or river ?).

Various—

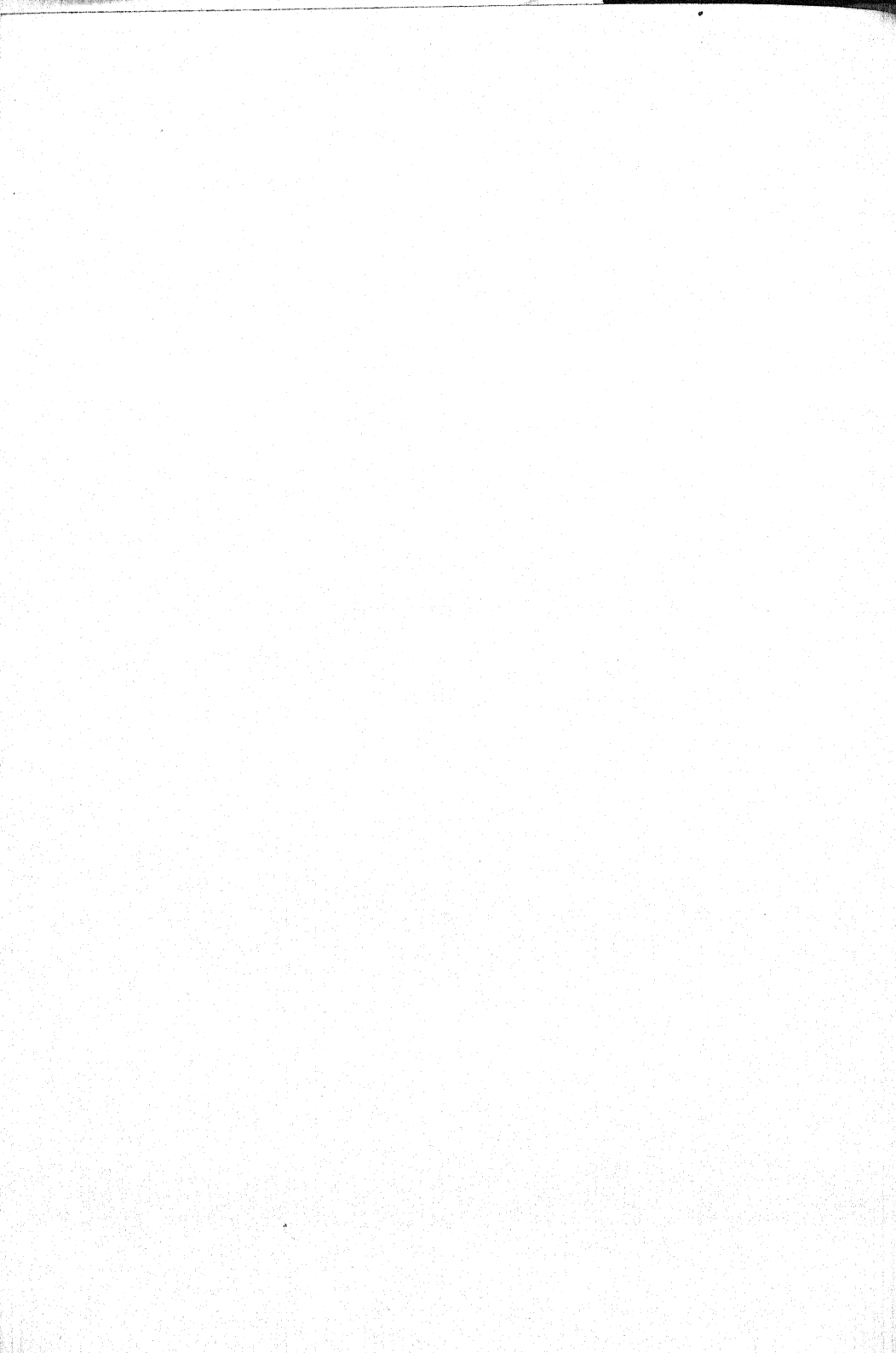
- (a) A Disc surrounded by dots—Kuṇindas (mint-mark ?)
- (b) Wheel surrounded by dots—Kulūtas.
- (c) Circle with dots around—Yaudheyas.

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S. K. CHAKRABORTTY.



336. COINAGE OF THE NIZAMS OF HYDERABAD.

The decline of the Mughal Power in India after the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb was the signal for the rise and establishment of various independent monarchies throughout India. Subhedars or Governors of different provinces under the supreme power declared their independence and the Mughal Emperors were too weak to exercise any control over them. Nadir Shah's invasion in 1739 during the reign of Muhammad Shah made the case still worse for the Emperors until at last they were Emperors merely in name while the real authority, even at the Capital and the surrounding districts, was in the hands of the Vazirs or the Marathas and subsequently of the English.

In these circumstances, the Nizam's power in the Deccan was brought into being. Nizamulmulk the last of the Governors of Deccan founded the present dynasty. He declared himself independent in 1721 (1133 A.H.) and by virtue of his valour and statesmanship laid the foundations of his State so strong that it has remained almost undisturbed to this day, and is now premier among Indian States. In accordance with the decision of the Paramount power, mints of almost all the Indian States had to be closed down in 1900 but that of the Nizam State continues to issue its own currency.

It is somewhat strange that no single article or notice of the coins of the Hyderabad State has yet appeared in the Numismatic journals. Even the exhaustive Catalogue of the coins of Indian States in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, has failed to notice these coins. I, therefore, deemed it proper to bring some of my observations on the Coinage of this Premier Native State of India to the notice of the Numismatic Society of India.

The following is a list of rulers of the dynasty :—

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|----|--------------------------------|
| 1. Nizamulmulk Asafjah | .. | Ruled from 1133 to 1161 Hijri. |
| 2. Nawab Mir Ahmadkhan | .. | 1161 to 1164 .. |
| Nizamuddaulah Nasirjung. | | |
| 3. Muzaffarjung Sadullah Khan.. | .. | 1164 (2 months). |
| 4. Nawab Syed Muhammad Khan | .. | 1164 to 1175 Hijri. |
| Asafuddaulah Salabatjung. | | |
| 5. Nawab Mir Nizam Ali Khan | .. | 1175 to 1218 .. |
| Bahadur Asafjung (Asafjah II). | | |
| 6. Nawab Mir Akbar Ali Khan | .. | 1218 to 1244 .. |
| Sikandarjah (Asafjah III). | | |
| 7. Nawab Mir Farkhunda Ali | .. | 1244 to 1273 .. |
| Khan Nasiruddaulah (Asafjah IV). | | |
| 8. Nawab Mir Tahniyat Ali Khan | .. | 1273 to 1285 .. |
| Bahadur Afzaluddaulah (Asafjah V). | | |

9. Nawab Mir Mahboob Ali Khan Ruled from 1285 to 1330 Hijri.
(Asafjah VI).
10. Nawab Mir Usman Ali Khan „ 1330 to this day.
(Asafjah VII).

As has been pointed out by me in my paper on Non-Mughal Mints of Shah Alam II read before the Seventh Oriental Conference at Baroda, coins were struck during the late Mughal period by the local authorities in the Emperor's name from various mint towns with distinctive marks of their own, though the Emperor had no control over the mints. The reason for this continuance of the Emperor's name seems to be the apprehension of the revival of the Mughal Power and the dislike of a change in the currency by the public who still cherished a vague notion of the supreme authority of the Mughal Emperor.

The common stamp of the Mughal Emperor's name on the coins gave them currency throughout India in spite of the diversity. The same held good in case of the Nizam's dominions at Hyderabad. A reference to page 32 of Tarikhe-Rashiduddin-khani, the report of the Subhedar of Aurangabad about the current coinage as published in the Aurangabad Gazetteer, page 727 and Bustan Asafia, page 162 would show that no less than 40 varieties of rupees and about a dozen varieties of copper coins were current in the Nizam's State till about 40 years ago.

There is nothing in the Coinage that could distinguish the Coinage of the Nizam from that of the others till 1218 A.H. when Sikandarjah introduced the Persian letter س on the coins. A coin with legend, dates and name of the ruling Mughal ruler with the above letter has therefore to be assigned to Sikandarjah and similarly his successor Nasiruddaulah's coins are distinguished by the initial letter ن of his name on the then current coins. His successor Afzaluddaulah continued the same practice on his coins by introducing ا as the initial letter of his name.

It was during this ruler's reign that the mutiny broke out and the Mughal Power was finally overthrown. This encouraged most of the Native States to abolish the Mughal Emperor's name and legend prevalent hitherto on the coins and to substitute it with their own. The Nizam's Coinage was not an exception. Asafuddaulah also introduced a separate coinage for his own State wherein the Mughal Emperor's name was not to be seen.

The coins prevalent up to the mutiny had سکه مبارک شاه محمد بهادر شاه بادشاه غازی or عالم بادشاه غازی on the obverse and جلوس with or without the letters س or ن and the mint mark on the reverse.

This was substituted by Asafuddaulah from 1275 A.H. with coins having the following legend :—

۹۲
 آصف جاہ نظام الملک بہادر
 ۱۲۷۵
 سنہ

} on the obverse.

and

جلوس
 ۲
 میمنت مانوس
 حیدر آباد
 ضرب
 فرخندہ بنیاد

} on the reverse.

Rupees, half rupees, quarter rupees and even two annas and an anna pieces of this type and legend seem to have been issued in silver. Copper pieces of half anna and quarter anna were also issued with the same legend. Gold coinage seems to be rare and it appears that these Mohurs or Ashrafis were struck only at auspicious or important occasions by the ruler or the nobles in the State mint and their values differed from time to time according to the gold rate. Gold coinage bore the same legend as the silver one.

This sort of coinage continued to be current under the name of 'Hali' along with all other sorts of earlier rupees termed as 'chalanies' till about 40 years ago when Mir Mahboobalikhan the then ruler issued orders to stop the circulation of all other coins in his State except the 'Hali' issued by his predecessor since 1275 and caused them to be melted. This was enforced very rigidly by penalizing the possession and use of the old coinage in ordinary transactions. This caused a total abolition of the Chalani rupees which were still in use with a decreased value. In 1312 the machine made coins were introduced by Mir Mahboobalikhan which were equal to the current rupee in size and weight. This new Hali rupee threw even the old Hali rupees into the background. (Hali literally means current and so does the word chalani.) The mint was placed under the management of an English officer who systematized the whole currency on the lines of the coinage of the crown. Coins of various fractions of a rupee were also issued from the machines of the mint. The legend on these coins remained the same as on the old Hali rupees with the difference of regnal and Hijri years which changed from year to year.

In 1322 another change in the coinage followed which brought the coinage almost to the level of our current British Currency and is still current in that State. The gold and silver coinage has the drawing of Chahar minar—a central edifice with four towers in the city of Hyderabad, with the initial letter م in the arch of the building to indicate the name of the ruler Mir Mahboobalikhan. At the top of this design the words آصفجہ to the right and بہادر to the left in the Arabic characters with the Hijri date at the bottom is seen on the obverse. The reverse of this rupee bears یک روپیہ in a small circle in the centre with حیدرآباد جوس میمنت مانوس ضرب فرخندہ بنیاد running around.

The half rupee, quarter rupee and one-eighth rupee coins bear the same legend on them except the value of the coin mentioned on the respective issues.

Modern copper coins bear the same legend on the reverse but the obverse presents a monogram like that of the Turkish or the Egyptian coins, which has the same legend as above beautifully interwoven in it. Half anna and two pies coins of copper were issued during the reign of Mir Mahboobalikhan. The present ruler has introduced pies of copper also.

The rupees of the present ruler bear the same legend on all the coins of the aforesaid denominations except the initial letter ع standing for his name Mir Usmanali Khan in place of the old م of his father and the Hijri year which is changed on the coins from year to year.

He has also introduced a nickel one anna piece and currency notes of different denominations with the Persian legend on the lines of and similar to the British Indian Currency notes.

With this brief survey of the Coinage of the Nizams of Hyderabad I look forward for a detailed study of the same in future, and close for the present with the following description of some of typical coins illustrated in this issue :—

AV. 1. A gold coin of Mir Mahboob Ali Khan (1285–1330 A.H.)
It reads :—

<i>Obverse.</i>	<i>Reverse.</i>
۹۲	جوس ۱۵
آصف جاہ	میمنت
نظام الملک بہادر	مانوس
۱۲۹۹	فرخندہ بنیاد
	ضرب

- AV. 2. *Obverse* :—Same as No. 1 but date 1311 A.H.
Reverse :—Same as No. 1 but the mint name Hyderabad and Farkhundabunyad, differently arranged.
- AV. 3. Machine made coin of the latest variety introduced in 1322 A.H. by Mir Mahboob Ali Khan. The coin is called half Ashrafi.
Obverse :—The edifice of Chahar minar in centre with the following inscription in Naskh characters :—

نظام الملک	to the right,
آصف جاہ	at the top,
بہادر	to the left,
۱۳۲۸	at the base of the edifice, and
سنہ	
م	in the centre.

Reverse :—The value of the coin اشرفی نصف in the smaller circle in the centre with the same legend as on the reverse of No. 1 running round the same with the Regnal Year.

- AR. 4. This is a silver coin issued by Sikandarjah in the name of the Mughal Emperor Akbar II with the initial letter س on بادشاہ of شا .

<i>Obverse.</i>	<i>Reverse.</i>
محمد اکبر شا (ہ)	۲۵
(س) —————	جلوس
س	(میہ) —————
(با) دشاہ ۱۲۳۳ غا (ز)	فرخندہ بنیا (د)

- AR. 5. This is a coin issued by Nasiruddaulah in the name of the Mughal Emperor Bahadur II with the initial letter ن over بادشاہ of شا .

<i>Obverse.</i>	<i>Reverse.</i>
محمد بہادر شا (ہ)	۱۸
ن	جلوس
بادشاہ غا (زی) ۱۲۷۳	میمنہ —————
	س فرخندہ بنیا (د)

- AR. 6. This is a coin issued by Afzaluddaulah in the name of the Mughal Emperor Bahadur II with the initial letter ۱ over بادشاه .

Obverse :—Same as No. 5 except the date 1274 and the letter ۱ .

Reverse :—The same as No. 5.

- AR. 7. The Post Mutiny type of coin introduced by the Nizam after 1275 A.H. wherein the Mughal Emperor's name has disappeared. The legend reads :—

Obverse.

Reverse.

۹۲
آصف جاه
نظام الملک بہادر
۱۲۷۶
سنہ

جلوس
میمنت مانوس
حیدر آباد
ضر
فرخندہ بنیاد

- AR. 8. A quarter rupee piece of Mir Mahboob Ali Khan, dated 1287. The legend on both the sides is the same as above.
- AR. 9. A half rupee coin of the above ruler with the date 1307. The legend remains the same.
- AR. 10. A one-eighth rupee piece of the above ruler, dated 1308 with the same legend.
- AR. 11. The first machine made rupee introduced by Mir Mahboob Ali Khan (now known as the old Hali while the old hand made issues were termed Chalani). The legend on the coin is the same as on the old rupees except the change of the year 28 and the Hijri, date 1312.
- AR. 12. The new Hali rupee introduced in 1322 A.H. with the initial letter م in the arch of the edifice on the obverse and the value یک روپہ inserted in the centre on the reverse.
The arrangement of the legend is the same as on AV. 3 above.
- AR. 13. A quarter rupee piece of the latest type bearing the value چہار آنہ on the reverse. Legend is the same as above.
- AE. 14. This is an old dumpy copper pice evidently issued after the Mutiny. Such coins were current till recently.

- AE. 15. The current pice of which six go for an anna. The value دو پائی is mentioned on the reverse, the remaining legend being the same as above. The obverse shows a monogram in which the above legend and the initial letter م are artistically interwoven.

R. G. GYANI.



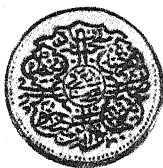
1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



COINAGE OF THE NIZAMS.





9



10



11



13



14



12



15



COINAGE OF THE NIZAMS.

337. THE COINS OF NADIR SHAH AND THE DURRANI DYNASTY.

It must be admitted that a Coin Catalogue is out of date as soon as it appears; this is the fate of any work, however comprehensive, on a progressive subject because knowledge does not stand still. In fact success may be measured by the speed with which a work brings about its own supersession by stimulating further interest and discovery. A Coin Catalogue is usually not in sufficient demand to justify the issue of a second edition. My Catalogue of the Coins of Nadir Shah and the Durrani Dynasty appeared in March, 1934, and I can already add a number of items, usually differing only in date from those listed. Suggestions and emendations have appeared in the reviews. But the chief ground for writing this note is my desire to give some account of the large and important Durrani section of the Cabinet of the American Numismatic Society at New York. The information has been kindly supplied by the Curator, Mr. Howland Wood. I have also received some new coin material from that indefatigable collector, Mr. P. Thorburn; it is remarkable what can be obtained in London.

There are 340 Durrani coins in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society, New York, 16 AV., 205 AR., and 119 AE., an extensive and representative lot, very strong in the copper issues. Mahmūd Shah is represented by 62 silver coins. Some pieces worthy of notice are as follows:—

Nādir. As 21 but date 1152 : a fine specimen of 59.

Aḥmad. Like 126 but date 1163 : AR. Deraḡat 1181 : AE. Bhakhar 1162, 3.

Taimūr as Nizam. AV. Multan 1178, 8; AR. Lāhor 1172, 1.

Taimūr. AR. Aḥmad Shahi 1195, 9 : AR. Bhakhar 1205 : AR. Kabul 1193, 6 : AR. Kashmir 1203, 16 and 1207, 20 : AE. Bhakhar 1196 : AE. Kashmir 1200, 13 : AE. Multan 1205, 20.

Zamān. AR. Double rupee like 753 : AR. Pashawar 1207, 2 : AE. Kashmir 1211.

Shuja. Second reign AV. Kābul 1224, 4.

AR. Bahawalpūr 1220, 1 : AR. Bakhar 1219 and 1221 : like 1031 with date 1219 : AE. Bhakhar 1218 and 1222.

Qaisar. AR. Kashmir 1223, 1.

Mahmūd. Second reign : AV. and AR. Kabul —, 1 : AR. Bhakhar 1250, 1254, 1262, 1266, 1268.

Aizūb. AR. Kashmir 1233, 1 : AE. Pashawar 1234.

Kamran. AR. Hirat 1254.

Shuja. Third reign AR. Aḥmad Shahi 1255 (half rupee).

From the Philip Thorburn Cabinet I am allowed to mention the following pieces :—

Nadir. As 50 but 1151.

Ahmad. As 257 but date ۸ on reverse : as 264 but dated 4 : as 277 but 1.0 inches. I may remark that Sir Richard Burn also possesses a specimen of 277 on which the word خام appears to be replaced by

نیم .

Taimur. AE. Dera.

Obverse.

119x تیمور شاه

—

بادشاه در . . .

Reverse.

فلوس

ضر —

دیره

Zaman. AR. Bakhar but 1213 : AR. Pashawar 1209, 2 like 762 but reverse arranged like Pl. XI, 13.

Mahmūd. The reverse legend of 919 (half rupee) is

هرات

— صر

۱۲۳۵

Mahmud. First reign. Like 949 but ۱۲۱۷ at top of reverse : 964 but one eighth rupee : like 1148 but date ۱۲۱۶ or ۱۲۱۷ on obverse.

Shuja. Second reign.

Obverse.

In central foliated area

شاه

الملک

شجاع

Reverse.

مانوس

میمنن —

جلوس

۱۲۱۹

پیکر

ضر —

Rest of couplet as on 995 round it.
This rupee belongs to a new type.

Mahmud. Second reign. Like 949 but ۱۲۲۹ on reverse :
AE. of *Khitta* Kashmir.

Kamran. Like 1207 but date 1248.

Shuja. Third reign. It has been pointed out that coin 1224 is of date 1255 and not 1259 : I accept this correction.

Fath Jang. Mr. Thorburn has a rupee with obverse of 1226 and reverse of 1229.

Also *Nadir Shah.* AV. Quarter Mohur of Qandahar, no date (Oxford).

AE. Sind, dated 1160, N.S. XLV, p. 106.

Additions and Corrections.—

The best account of the battle of Panipat between Ahmad Shah Durrani and the Mahrattas appeared in *Asiatick Researches*, Vol. 3, 1792, pp. 91 f. It is called *An Account of the Battle of Panipat and of all the events leading to it* : originally written in Persian by Cási Raja Pandit who was an eye witness of the Battle. I recommend the perusal of this curious and interesting story.

p. viii. Two and a half days' maintenance of the whole world—see Mrs. Beveridge's *Babur Namah* p. xiv, Transpose 127 and 103.

p. xxviii. In last line of Footnote, for 184 read 1834.

p. xxxi. Line 33. For 'Babatih', read 'Bhatiya'—see Elliot and Dowson, Vol. II, p. 28.

p. xxxiii. After Qandahar on line 26, insert Nadirabad.

p. xxxv. Line 31. For 'except Hirat', read 'except Hirat and Haiderabad (Sind)'. If Haiderabad was not founded till 1182 A.H., the Sind half mohur of Muhammad Shah—*P.M. Cat.*, Vol. II, p. 320—must have been struck elsewhere.

p. 157. First line of couplet. For, 'on gold and silver', read 'in gold and silver'.

p. 187. I deciphered the coin of Shahpur Shah at the last moment when the rest of the Catalogue had been printed off. Hence the name of this brother of Fath Jang should be inserted in the Genealogical Table on p. xvii, also after Fath Jang in the list at the head of p. lvii, and the concluding paragraph on p. lix.

I have been criticized for omitting the Durrani Mint Mashhad (Meshed). The first sentence of the Preface states that the Catalogue describes the money of Nadir Shah and the Durrani Dynasty struck at mints in Afghanistan and India, and I adhered to that intention. However, Persian mints are included on p. xxxv for the sake of completeness ; the correct form Mashhad is given both there and on the Map. The name is not pro-

nounced Meshed in India ; I am writing from the Indian and not the Persian point of view. As regards Ibn Batuta (p. lxix), this form has become familiar and the correct transliteration looks to me pedantic. On the other hand I must write Hirat and Pashawar because the mints appear in this way on the coins.

I much appreciated the competent and constructive criticism of Mr. S. H. Hodivala in his review of my book—*Numismatic Supplement*, XLV, *J.A.S.B.*, May, 1935. In this place I will only mention the tentative couplet of Mahmud's second reign, pp. 157, 190. I anticipated, in fact called for criticism, and I read with much interest Mr. Hodivala's well informed and able remarks on pp. 103 and 104 of his review ; these conclude with the words ' the best course seems to be to suspend judgment until the discovery of clearer specimens '. After my struggles with this legend, perhaps I feel a little glad that even Mr. Hodivala has found the problem difficult. May I say that the much discussed word appears quite clearly at Plate XIII, 1 and 3. I await the correct solution.

R. B. WHITEHEAD.

338. NOTE ON A UNIQUE COPPER COIN OF BARBAK SHAH.

During our tour to Gaur, the ancient capital of Bengal, in Malda District in March, 1934, two copper coins encrusted with verdigris were handed over to me by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, M.A., Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India. One of the two pieces, when cleaned and deciphered, turned out to be a common type of Husain Shah of Jaunpur, bearing the date H. 872, and the other a rare specimen belonging to Barbak Shah, the 7th Sultan in the line of Iliyas Shah of Bengal. The former was found at a place called Lalbazar in the vicinity of the Gunamant mosque at Gaur, while the latter piece was discovered on the surface of a cultivated field at a short distance to the south of the Dakhil Darwaza. The second coin is the subject matter of this note, and is of unusual interest, being the only known specimen of a copper coin of the Bengal Sultans, after the one mentioned by Mr. Nelson Wright in his Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. II, Pt. II, pp. 142-43.

It is a common belief that the Sultans of Bengal did not strike any copper issue and that their currency consisted mainly of silver coins with a few gold pieces. H. Blockmann who made an extensive study of this period says, 'The real commerce of the country was carried on in cowries as *no copper was issued*'.¹ Stanley Lane-Poole also shares the same view and emphatically asserts, 'The Coinage of Bengal, which is of silver, with a few gold pieces, but *no copper*'.² Mr. Nelson Wright, however, admits the existence of one copper coin issued by some Bengal Sultan and remarks, '*Only one copper coin exists, and that of doubtful authenticity*'.³ He does not give any detail of this doubtful copper piece. The discovery of the present specimen upsets the above theory and shows that the copper currency was issued by the Bengal Sultans, although on a modest scale, as the demand for it was strictly limited to cowrie shells in the common transaction of business. Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Deputy Director General of Archaeology also holds a similar opinion regarding the paucity of copper currency in the Pala period of Bengal's history, chiefly on the strength of his discovery of a few copper coins and several jars full of cowrie shells, from the Paharpur site. The scarcity of copper coins issued by the Sultans of Bengal may further be explained by the supposition that they may have ordered to strike a small number of copper

¹ J.A.S.B., Vol. XLIV, Pt. I, 1875, p. 288.

² B.M.C., *Muhammadian States*, p. xxxvii.

³ I.M.C., Vol. II, Pt. II, pp. 142-43.

coins as an experimental measure but finding them unpopular for small transactions stopped further issues in this metal.

On the obverse side the coin has the Arabic legend :—

ابوالمجاهد باريكشاه سلطان بن محمود شاه السلطان *

(Abul Mujāhid Barbak Shah, the Sultan, son of Mahmud Shah, the Sultan), and on the reverse : البرهان . خليفة الله بالحق و البرهان . (The viceregent of God with deed and proof.) This sonorous formula as a title was first introduced in his coins by Jalal-uddin Muhammad Shah,¹ the zealous convert Muslim potentate of Bengal (A.D. 1414–1431) and was subsequently followed by his successors on their coins and mural records.

The specimen is well executed and is in an excellent state of preservation. It weighs 76·3 grains, though not conforming to the standard weight of silver issues ranging from 160 to 168 grains, is apparently based on the metrology of the copper issues of Husain Shah of Jaunpur, whose territory was in close proximity to Bengal and whose coins are frequently met with in Gaur and the neighbouring districts.

SHAMSUDDIN AHMED.

¹ *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XLIII, Pt. I, 1874, p. 294.

339. UNPUBLISHED MINT MARKS ON AWADH COINS.

The immediate predecessors of the regular Awadh coins are the Šūba Awadh coins which differ subsequently from the Muḥammadābād-Banares issues of the 26th regnal year of Shāh 'Ālam II. The arrangement of the obverse legend, the mint marks and the style of the fish on the reverse is quite different.

Beginning with the issues of Ghāziu d-dīn Haider the first king of Awadh, we have five couplets on the obverse and the 'Arms of Awadh' in various artistic styles on the reverse. The mint town has several honorific titles and the coinage on the whole is a finished example, based on the standard of the Mughals.

While classifying this series in the Provincial Museum Cabinet at Lucknow, I noticed that the mint marks on some of these coins did not tally with those on the Awadh coins of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, included in the 4th volume of the Catalogue of Coins in that Museum. I was, therefore, tempted to examine the collection more closely and revise the 'Table of Mint Marks'. I have thus been able to add eight new mint marks bringing the total to 43. I may add however that most of these appear on the issues of the East India Company struck for circulation in Awadh in the name of Shāh 'Ālam II. Out of the 35 marks published so far, as many as 9 appear on the obverse and 10 on the reverse of Muḥammadābād-Banares series, whereas only 2 appear on the obverse and 4 on the reverse of the Šūba Awadh issues.


But if we strictly confine ourselves to the regular coinage of the Awadh kings from Ghāziu-d-dīn Haider in 1818 down to Wājid 'Āli Shāh in 1856 A.D., it is strikingly clear that the number of mint marks dwindled down to a very insignificant figure. A detailed examination shows that Ghāziu-d-dīn Haider's coins have only 3 marks on the obverse and none on the reverse. Nasīru-d-dīn Haider's have 2 for the obverse and none for the reverse. Muḥammad 'Āli Shāh, however, seems to have been very fond of these marks and we find as many as 8 on the obverse and one on the reverse. As against this, the succeeding king, Amjad 'Āli Shāh, has no mint marks at all. The last king, Wājid 'Āli Shāh used only one mint mark on the obverse.

With the additions now made, King Ghāziu-d-dīn Haider has 8, Nasīru-d-dīn Haider 2, Muḥammad 'Āli Shāh 10, and Wājid 'Āli Shāh 2. The coinage of Amjad 'Āli Shāh is conspicuous by the absence of any mint mark. But the most important point is that excepting Muḥammad 'Āli Shāh who has only one mint mark on the reverse, the Awadh kings had no such marks on the reverse of their coins. The significance of these marks, however, is still shrouded in mystery and forms a fascinating subject for study.

PRAYAG DAYAL.



1 	2 	3 	4 	5 	6
7 	8 	9 	10 	11 	12
13 	14 	15 	16 	17 	18
19 	20 	21 	22 	23 	24
25 	26 	27 	28 	29 	30
31 	32 	33 	34 	35 	36
37 	38 	39 	40 	41 	42
43 					

 *Published Mint Marks.*


 *Un-published " "*

TABLE OF MINT-MARKS.



340. THE COUNTESS AMHERST COLLECTION OF ASSAMESE
COINS.

In the latter half of July, 1934, among notifications in the daily papers of sales by Sotheby & Co., the well-known London auctioneers, mention was made of the inclusion in a sale of coins, to be held on July 30th, of the 'Countess Amherst Collection of Assamese coins'. Enquiry as to the names of Kings in whose names these coins were struck and the contemporary MS. catalogue that was stated to be included, elicited a list of some 70 coins. Of these 12 were gold : and a cursory perusal of the list showed that a large proportion of the coins were not to be found in the Shillong Cabinet. The importance of this collection lay in the fact that it had apparently been made at the instance of the 1st Earl Amherst who was Governor-General of India from 1823-28 : it was in his time that the first Burmese War occurred which ended with the signing of the Treaty of Yandabo in 1826, and the transfer of Assam to the British. There was no time to consult the local authorities in Assam as to whether they would like any bid to be made on their behalf, but as I had to be in London the following week to represent the University of Calcutta at the first Ethnographical and Anthropological Congress, I determined to be present, if possible, at the sale. Two dealers quickly ran the lot up to £22, and when they seemed unwilling to advance any further, I offered an additional 10/- and finally secured the collection for £24.

The accompanying 'Description of Assamese Coins by Dr. Wilson, Calcutta, 1828' seems to have been drawn up at the request of Earl Amherst for his Countess' information just before he returned to England, and—as is shown by the signature at the end of the catalogue—it was prepared by Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson, Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal from 1811-1833. Dr. Wilson's introductory note may be left to speak for itself :—

'The condition of Asam from the most remote to the most recent periods is known to us only by a few scattered notices in the mythological or poetical writings of the Hindus to which reference has been occasionally made by Sanskrit Scholars, by accounts of its invasion in the reign of the Musselman Princes of India of which translations have appeared in various periodical collections, and by a brief history derived from original sources by Dr. Buchanan and printed in a Volume published in England under the title of *Annals of Oriental Literature*. The Asiatic Society of Bengal is also possessed of a Manuscript History of Asam from original documents, but too crude and insuffi.

ciently authenticated for present publication. To these sources of information therefore the Coins in the possession of the Countess Amherst form an important accession.

‘From the Hindu writings it appears that at least the western portion of Asam was at an early period Hindu, and the same may be inferred from the names of the main stream, the *Lohit* and *Brahmaputra*, which are Sanskrit terms, implying the Red River, and the son of Brahma, a character the River is fabled to possess. At a comparatively modern date, about the end of the 11th Century, a new people appear to have invaded the Country from the East, and given to it the dynasty and the constitution which existed some time before its occupation by the Burmese which partly led to the late war with Ava. The manuscript states that the Princes and their chief followers came down from heaven, in memory of which event the Rajas of Asam uniformly take the title of *Swergra Deva*, Lord of Paradise or heaven. Buchanan conjectures this might be part of Tibet, and it is evident from the names of the two first Princes *Khun leng* and *Khun lai* as well as the first Rajas of Asam proper, *Sooka-pha*, and his successors *Sootoo-pha*, *Sooben-pha*, and others, that these persons were originally from some of the Indo-Chinese tribes. The first five Coins clear up this difficulty, if the impressions they bear are accurately described as written in the *Sharum* characters, or in that of the people of *Laos*.¹ There are no means of verifying this fact in Calcutta, but there is no reason to question the correctness of information procured upon the spot by so intelligent and enquiring an officer as Captain Neufville. We are therefore authorized to conclude that Asam was subjected to a new form of Government, a

¹ From a copy of the Laos Alphabet, kindly supplied by Sir Denison Ross, it seemed doubtful whether this statement of Dr. Wilson was altogether correct, especially in view of the fact that Laos is so far away from Assam (on the northern borders of Siam and French Indo-China, on both sides of the big bend of the Mekong, S.W. of Luang Prabang).

It was then found on reference to Rai Sahib Golap Chandra Borua's *Ahom-Assamese-English-Dictionary* (Calcutta, 1920, Preface, p. ii) that ‘Ahom belongs to the same sub-group of the Tāi language as Khāmti and Shān. Its alphabet ‘is related to those of Khāmti, Shān and Burmese but it possesses signs for *g*, *gh*, *j*, *jh*, *d*, *dh*, *b*, and *bh*, which are wanting in Khāmti and Shān’. The Rai Sahib further notes (*idem*, p. i) that the Ahoms called themselves *Tāi* (Celestials) ‘by which name the Shāns still designate themselves, and they maintained a fairly continuous intercourse with the inhabitants of the original home until very recent times.’

There seems, however, to be actually some foundation for Dr. Wilson's statement as in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* article on Shāns, it is stated that ‘the Thāi language may be divided into two sub-groups, the North and the South. The South includes Siamese, Lao, Lū, and Hkūn, the North the three forms of Shān, namely North Burmese Shān, South Burmese Shān, and Chinese Shān with Hkāmti and Āhōm.’

new race of Princes and a new religion imported from Laos, towards the close of the Eleventh Century. The return of the Princes to the Hindu faith as latterly professed is shewn by the Coins.'

The Capt. Neufville referred to in Dr. Wilson's note had in 1828 just been appointed Assistant for Upper Assam to David Scott, the Agent to the Governor-General for North Eastern India. Capt. Neufville—as noted in Gait's History of Assam—had distinguished himself as Intelligence Officer in the late Burmese War, and, in addition to his political work, was also Commandant of the Assam Light Infantry. It is certain that a man in Capt. Neufville's position would have every facility of making a good collection of the local currency, if he so desired, and from the mention of his name by Dr. Wilson, it seems possible that the collection now to be described was actually made by Capt. Neufville for presentation to the wife of his Governor-General, who had, only two years previously, on the successful conclusion of the Burmese War, been advanced to the rank of Earl Amherst of Arakan.

The collection was found to consist actually of 12 Gold coins and 72 Silver coins, all with three exceptions—a Kuch-Bihār $\frac{1}{2}$ -Rupee, a small gold coin from the Yemen, and a French East India Company's 2-anna piece—Assamese coins: and comparison with Dr. Wilson's list showed only the following discrepancies:—

1. The collection now includes a Rupee of Śiva Simha, dated 1638 *Śāke*.
2. On the other hand a Rupee of Rājeśvara Simha, dated 1670 *Ś.* is missing.
3. The $\frac{1}{16}$ -Rupee of Gaurinātha Simha listed by Dr. Wilson was not found. Instead, however, the following was found:—
4. $\frac{1}{16}$ -Rupee of Brajanātha Simha (which suggests that Gaurinātha was misread for Brajanātha).
5. A $\frac{1}{16}$ -Rupee of Chandra Kānta Simha is not listed.
6. The $\frac{1}{2}$ -Rupee of a Koch King is also not mentioned; as is also the case with:—
7. The $\frac{1}{8}$ -Dinār of the Imām Al-Māhdi of Ṣan'ā', Yemen.

Finally:—

- 8-10. Three unlisted Gold coins of Gaurinātha (viz. $\frac{1}{2}$ -Mohur, $\frac{1}{8}$ -Mohur and $\frac{1}{32}$ -Mohur) were also found in the Collection.

No. 1 may have been exchanged with some one for No. 2, but the presence of Nos. 5-10 show that a few additional coins were added to the Countess' collection, after Dr. Wilson was given the opportunity of describing the coins found in it in 1828.

The following is an analysis of the Collection as it stood when purchased—a X being added in the case of those coins that are not mentioned in Mr. A. W. Botham's 1930 (2nd) edition of the 'Catalogue of the Provincial Coin Cabinet, Assam'. The dates mentioned being in the *Śāka* era, 78 has to be added in each case to bring them to the corresponding date in the Christian era :—

Name of King.	Gold.	Silver.
Chakradhvaja Śiṃha	....	1 (Re. 1585 <i>Ś'</i> =1663 A.D.).
Gadādhara Śiṃha ..	....	5 (Rs. Ahom script, dated <i>Raisān</i> =1681 <i>Ś'</i>) XX.
Rudra Śiṃha ..	1 (Mohur : 1620 <i>Ś'</i>) X	2 (Rs. 1623 and 1635).
Śiva Śiṃha ..	....	2 (Rs. 1637 and 1638).
Śiva Śiṃha and Queen Phuleśvarī.	....	1 (Re. 1646) X.
Śiva Śiṃha and Queen Ambikā.	1 (Mohur of 1657 and Regnal Year 22) X.	2 (Rs. 1654, R.Y. 19, and 1657, R.Y. 21).
Śiva Śiṃha and Sarveśvarī.	....	1 ($\frac{1}{2}$ -Re. R.Y. 24) X.
Pramatta Śiṃha ..	....	2 ($\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs. R.Y.'s 23 and 24. No <i>Śāka</i> date) XX.
		1 (Re. of 1664 and R.Y. 29) X.
		2 (Rs. 1670 X and 1672).
		2 ($\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs. undated).
		2 ($\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs. both 1670).
Rājeśvara Śiṃha ..	1 (Mohur, 1688) X	4 (Rs. : 2 in Devanāgarī script of 1675, 1 in Persian script of 1685, and 1 of 1686).
		2 ($\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs. undated, one in Devanāgarī script) XX.
		1 ($\frac{1}{2}$ -Re. of 1689) X.
Lakshmī Śiṃha ..	2 (Mohur, 1701 X : $\frac{1}{2}$ -M. 1697 X).	2 (Rs. 1696 and 1700 X).
		2 ($\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs. undated) X.
		2 ($\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs. 1699 and 1701) X.
Gaurīnātha Śiṃha ..	4 (Mohur 1716, R.Y. 1 X (?) : $\frac{1}{2}$ -M. undated X : $\frac{1}{2}$ -M. „ X : $\frac{1}{2}$ -M. „ X).	2 (Rs. 1705 : and 1716 X (?)).
		2 ($\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs. both 1716 but one with R.Y. 1 under date) XX.
		2 ($\frac{1}{2}$ -Re. undated) XX.
Bharatha Śiṃha ..	....	2 ($\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs. undated) X.
		2 ($\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs. 1714, 1719) XX.
Sarvānanda Śiṃha ..	....	2 (Rs. both 1716) X.
		1 ($\frac{1}{2}$ -Re. undated) X.

Name of King.	Gold.	Silver.
Kamaleśvara Siṃha .. Chandrakānta Siṃha	1 ($\frac{1}{8}$ -M. undated) X	2 ($\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs. undated) X. 2 (Rs. both 1741) X. 2 ($\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs. undated) X. 2 ($\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs. 1741, 1742) XX. 1 ($\frac{1}{2}$ -Re. undated) X.
Brajanātha Siṃha ..	1 ($\frac{1}{2}$ -M. undated) X..	2 (Rs. both 1740) XX. 2 ($\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs. undated) XX. 2 ($\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs. 1739, 1740) XX. 1 ($\frac{1}{2}$ -Re. undated).
Jogeśvara Siṃha ..	....	2 ($\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs. undated). 2 ($\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs. both 1743) XX.
Total Assamese Coins	11 : 10—or possibly all 11—not in Shillong Cabinet.	70 (37 or possibly 38 new).
Rājendra Nārāyaṇ (of Kuch-Bihār). French E.I. Coy. .. Al-Māhdi, Imām of Ṣan'ā', Yemen.	.... .... 1 ($\frac{1}{8}$ -Dīnār) ..	1 ($\frac{1}{2}$ -Re. undated). 1 ($\frac{1}{8}$ -Re. „)
Grand Total ..	12 Gold ..	72 Silver.

Efforts were also made, after the Amherst collection had been catalogued, to increase still further (by exchange, gift, or, in one case, by purchase) the number of coins not previously included in the Shillong Cabinet, with the result that the following additional coins have now been added :—

1. Jayadhvaṇja Siṃha .. Re. of 1570 *S.* (Slight variation of previous Shillong specimen).
2. Rudra „ .. Re. of 1624.
3. Śiva Siṃha and Ambikā.. Re. of 1657 R.Y. 21. (Slight variation of previous Shillong specimen.)
4. Gaurinātha Siṃha .. Re. of 171(8?).
5. „ „ .. Re. of *Sāke* 120 (*sic.*!).
6. „ „ .. $\frac{1}{2}$ -Re. of R.Y. 7.
7. „ „ .. $\frac{1}{2}$ -Re. Mint Mark (𑒧 (*Disai*)). (Slight variation of previous Shillong specimen.)
8. Bharatha „ .. Re. of 1715.
9. Brajanātha „ .. Mohur of 1739.
10. Rājadhara Mānikya Deva Re. of 1707 *S.* (= 1785 A.D.).
of Tipperah.
11. Chaurajit Siṃha of Manipur Re. of 1734 *S.* (= 1812 A.D.).

Nos. 1, 8 and 10 were obtained by the generous co-operation of Mr. J. Allan, Keeper of Coins and Medals, British Museum.

Details of the coins now in the Collection that have not hitherto found a place in the Shillong Catalogue.

SUPĀTPHĀ *alias* GADĀDHARA SĪMHA.

(1603–1618 *Śāka* = 1681–1696 A.D.)

Striking of fresh coinage with each New Year did not start in Assam till the accession of Gadādhara's son, Rudra Sīmha, in 1618 *Śāka* (=1696 A.D.), and all the 5 Gadādhara Rupees in Ahom script found in the Amherst collection are only variations of those struck by this King in his accession year *Raisān*, or the 33rd year of the 19th *tāosiñā* (cycle of 60 years current in Assam),¹ viz. 1603 *Śāka*. Except for trifling differences, three of them correspond to Nos. 1 and 4 in the Shillong Catalogue, but the other two are new, being distinguished by having no Dragon or Peacock on either face, nor, indeed, any other ornamentation, such as the segments and dots found on the Reverse of S.C. No. 2. Though their inscriptions are the same as those on other coins of Gadādhara, these two coins are struck from differently sized dies, and instead of the Reverse being, as in most Assamese coins of later Kings, at 180° to the Obverse, in the first it is struck without inverting the blank, while in the second the Reverse is struck at right angles to the Obverse.

Dr. Wilson was evidently unable to make anything of the inscriptions on these coins, and moreover was misled by someone as regards both their attribution and date, as may be gathered from what follows :—

'These are the coins of the ancient Rajas, inscribed with characters not known in Calcutta. One is unappropriated. The other four are thus described :—

1 of Soobenpha—in the 13th Century.

1 of Sootoopa—" " " "

1 of Soopatpha—" " " "

1 of Soohompha—in the beginning of the 16th Century.'²

In his subsequent notes on the 1585 *Ś.* coin of Chakradhvaja Sīmha, Dr. Wilson draws a parallel between the meaning of the name of this King, viz. 'He whose mark or symbol, or, if it may be so rendered, armorial bearing, is the Discus', that

¹ Starting from 568 A.D., the reputed date of the descent from heaven of the two brothers Khunlung and Khunlai, the legendary first Ahom Kings. The change-over to *Śāka* era was probably due to Rudra Sīmha.

² Sukāphā, the tribal chief who led the Ahoms in 1228 A.D. over the Pātākai Pass into what is now Assam, is said to have been succeeded in 1268 A.D. by his son Suteuphā, who in turn was followed 13 years later by his son Subinphā. Soohompha is presumably Sukhāmpā, who ruled from 1552 to 1603 A.D. and was the son of Sukleñmuñ, the first Ahom ruler to strike coins; while, as we have already seen, Supātpā, or Gadādhara Sīmha, did not come to the throne till 1681 A.D.

weapon, being one of the distinguishing marks of the Hindu Deity Vishnu, and that of Gadādhara 'The Holder of the Mace', which is also an epithet of Vishnu. He adds: 'The manuscript, and Buchanan, refer the introduction of the Hindu faith to *Gadādhara Siṃha* and do not mention the Prince whose coin is here noticed. Buchanan states also that no coin of *Gadādhara* was found by him'. Dr. Wilson could not make up his mind whether the two names referred to the same individual, or whether (as we now know to be the case) Chakradhvaja was one of Gadādhara's predecessors on the throne of Assam.

RUDRA SIMHA.

(1618-1636 *Śāka*=1696-1714 A.D.)

As noted in a previous paper (*J.A.S.B.*, 1910, p. 632) no specimens of this King's Ahom coinage under his Ahom name *SUKRUṆPHĀ* ('The Awe-Inspiring Tiger of Heaven') which was presumably struck on his accession to the throne in 1618 *Ś.* have hitherto come to light, but coins in Sanskrit are known for this and every subsequent year of his reign down to 1636—the year in which he died. The Amherst collection fortunately included a specimen of the only Gold coin of this King that is known to have been struck, viz. of the year 1620 *Ś.*; and the series of Rupees in the Shillong Cabinet has since been further supplemented by a specimen of the very rare Rupee of 1624, of which previously only two other specimens were known to exist.

A distinct change in religious cult—from Vaishnavism to Saivism—is evident from the invocation of Hara and Gaurī on the Reverse of Rudra Simha's coins. The legends on the Mohur only differ from those on the Rupees of 1618 and 1620 in the *dra* of *Rudra* being transferred from the end of the 2nd line of the Obverse to the beginning of the 3rd, but the Dragon at the bottom of the Obverse also faces *left* instead of right. There is no other ornamentation on either face. This coin closely resembles that of the Mohur in the possession of Mr. Botham that was figured as No. 1, Pl. XXVII, of the writer's paper already referred to, but is a much better specimen.

ŚIVA SIMHA.

1. ŚIVA SIMHA alone: 1636-46 *Śāka*: 1650 *Ś.* (?): 1654 *Ś.* (R.Y. 18) and 1659-61 *Ś.* (R.Ys. 24 and 25).
2. ŚIVA SIMHA with Queen PHULEŚVARĪ: 1646-50 *Ś.*
- 2a. ŚIVA SIMHA with (the same Queen after she had changed her name to) PRAMATHĒŚVARĪ: 1649-1653 *Ś.*
3. ŚIVA SIMHA, with Queen AMBIKĀ: 1654 *Ś.* (R.Y. 19)—1659 *Ś.* (R.Y. 24).

4. ŚIVA ŚIMHA, with Queen SARVEŚVARĪ: 1661 Ś. (R.Y. 25)—1666 Ś. (R.Y. 31).

Total duration of reign: 1636–1666 Ś.=1714–1744 A.D.

The previously unrecorded coins of this King from the Amherst Collection include the following specimens:—

With Queen PHULEŚVARĪ. A Rupee of 1646 (no R.Y.) that differs from S.C. No. 19 in having what is apparently intended to be a flower to the right of the *Ha* at the end of l.(1) of Reverse.

With Queen AMBIKĀ. Several novel coins struck by Śiva Śimha jointly with this Queen have now been added to the Shillong collection. The principal one of these is a Mohur (from the Amherst Collection), dated 1658 (and R.Y. 22) which, however, seems to have been struck from the same die as S.C. No. 45—a rupee of the same year. A rupee of the previous year (and R.Y. 21) has also been secured by exchange. This differs from the Shillong specimen of the same date in having no ornamentation, except the Dragon to R. at bottom of Obverse, in which respect it follows the coins of 1654–6. Lastly, a $\frac{1}{2}$ -Rupee and $\frac{1}{4}$ -Rupee—each with R.Y. 24—not only have the distinction of being examples of the coinage struck in the last year of this Queen's life, but have ornamentation in the form of animals that differentiate them from other coins of the same Queen. The inscriptions on the $\frac{1}{2}$ -rupee are found in S.C. No. 38, except for 24 (instead of 19) appearing as the R.Y. at the bottom of the Reverse. There is no ornamentation on the Reverse; but on the Obverse there is a Dragon (running to left but with head turned backwards) at the bottom, while a rosette of 7 dots appears below the *Śi* at the end of the first line. In the $\frac{1}{4}$ -rupee the inscriptions are the same as in S.C. No. 39, except for the R.Y. being 24 instead of 19; but the ornamentation is different. On the Obverse we again find the rosette of 7 dots below the *Śi* (of Śiva) while on the Reverse, along side 6, i.e. to the right of the R.Y., a Deer is shown running upwards to the Right, but with head turned backwards. (For reproduction of these two coins, *vide* Pl. 5, Nos. 1 and 2.)

A discussion of the reasons why Śiva Śimha alone among Assamese Kings permitted the names of his Queens to appear on the coinage will be found on pp. 634-5 of the writer's 1910 paper already referred to; but the following extract from Dr. Wilson's 'Description' deserves quotation, as Buchanan's evidence—even though it is second hand, being based on some Assamese chronicle—does not appear to have been previously utilized in dealing with the question:—

'Buchanan states that this [appearance of Queens' names on the coinage] arose from a plot to deprive the Prince of real power, and administer the Government through the agency of females. It was foretold soon after

his accession that his reign would be short, and that he would be deprived of all power before his death. To evade this prophecy it was suggested that the attribute of sovereignty should be transferred to his queens, several of whom were accordingly placed in succession upon the throne, to whom Śiva Siṅh yielded nominally his authority; the real authority being engrossed by his Ministers.'

RĀJEŚVARA SIṂHA.

(1673¹-1691 *Śāka*=1751-1769 A.D.)

A third² specimen of a Mohur struck in 1688 was found among the Amherst coins and is a useful addition to the Shillong collection (which already had a Quarter-Mohur of the same year). The inscriptions are the same as in the rupee of 1688, and the ornamentation is also probably the same as in that coin. From the Mohur, however, it would appear that the 'indistinct dots' mentioned at the left of the Dragon at bottom of Obverse of the 1688 rupee are really another segment and 5 dots. Besides a variant of the $\frac{1}{4}$ -Re. of 1689, there are also two undated half-rupees with different ornamentation from any of the other half-rupees at Shillong. One of these (figured as No. 3, Pl. 5) is in Devanāgarī script, which suggests that it possibly dates from 1675, the year in which Rājeśvara struck rupees in this script. (*vide* S.C. No. 6.)

LAKSHMĪ SIṂHA.

(1691³-1702 *Śāka*=1769-1780 A.D.)

A Mohur of 1701 *Ś.* and a $\frac{1}{2}$ -M. of 1697—both previously unrecorded—were found among the Amherst coins. The former resembles the Rupee of 1700; while the latter only differs from the $\frac{1}{4}$ -M. of 1692 (S.C. No. 2) in the date and in having a dot within the crescent above the *Śāka* on Reverse.

Other coins, not previously in the Shillong Cabinet, are a Rupee of 1700, which helps towards filling up a gap in the

¹ A Mohur in Ahom script was struck in this year. No coins of Rājeśvara later than 1690 are known.

² The two previously known are in the cabinets of the British Museum and Mr. Botham.

³ Except possibly for the $\frac{1}{4}$ -Re. with R.Y. 1 subsequently mentioned, no coins of 1691 *Ś.* struck in the name of Lakshmi Siṃha are known. This was probably due to a controversy as to who should succeed Rājeśvara (*vide*, *J.A.S.B.*, 1910, p. 637); and Lakshmi may not have been formally installed till the following year, after the defeat and death of a usurper called Rāma Kānta, who was proclaimed King by the rebel Moāmariās (Vaishnavas), and is said to have struck coins in 1691 *Ś.* From the absence of coins for Rājeśvara's last year, this rebellion may have begun even before the latter's death.

Shillong series of the later years of Lakshmi, and apparently resembles the Re. of 1698 (S.C. No. 21); and an undated $\frac{1}{4}$ -Re., which resembles S.C. No. 1 in having no ornamentation on either side, but differs from it in not having a R.Y. 1 at the bottom of the Reverse. This may constitute the only known example of coinage in the first year of Lakshmi Sinha's reign.

GAURINĀTHA SĪMHA.

(1702–1718 *Śāka* = 1780–1796 A.D.)

The troubles with the Vaishnava Moāmariās that had occurred at the beginning of Lakshmi Sinha's reign broke out again shortly after the accession to the throne of Assam of his son Gaurinātha, and after four years strife, Gaurinātha was compelled in 1708 *Ś.* to leave his capital at Rangpur and take refuge in Gauhati. A reflection of this trouble is shown by the almost complete cessation of Gaurinātha's coinage between 1709 and 1716, and the issue of coins in the name of Bharatha Sinha, the Moāmariā leader, at Rangpur. At the end of 1792 A.D. (1714 *Ś.*) Gaurinātha had even to leave Gauhati, and sought refuge with Captain Welsh, the Commander of the British forces in Goālpārā. The latter had already received instructions from Lord Cornwallis, who was then Governor-General, to assist Gaurinātha in ejecting from Assam the Bengali and Hindustani mercenaries of Krishna Nārāyan, whose father—the Raja of Darrang—Gaurinātha had murdered, and after Gauhati was retaken, Capt. Welsh began to make arrangements for advancing still further into Upper Assam. In January, 1794 A.D., Gaurinātha also applied to the Governor-General for the permanent retention of British troops in Assam, offering to pay Rs. 3 lakhs annually for their maintenance; and when, in the course of the subsequent expedition, Rangpur was recaptured in the following March, and Gaurinātha re-installed as King, in token of his indebtedness to the British, he issued coins bearing the *Śāka* date 1716, and R.Y. 1.

A change in the post of Governor-General had however occurred in December, 1793—Sir John Shore taking the place of Lord Cornwallis; and, owing to the new Governor-General having decided on a policy of non-interference in affairs outside of British India, Capt. Welsh was ordered in the following April to stop all further offensive operations against Gaurinātha's enemies, the Moāmariās, and to withdraw his troops into British territory. This evacuation was completed by the first week in July, 1794. The immediate result was that the Moāmariās—who had been repeatedly defeated by Capt. Welsh's troops—again reoccupied Rangpur, while the effect on Gaurinātha of the withdrawal of the British is also indicated by the change in Regnal Year to 16 (instead of 2) on some of the coins struck in 1717 *Ś.* Chaos

again ruled in Assam for the following $1\frac{1}{2}$ years, at the end of which time Gaurinātha died on December 15th, 1795. This date is confirmed by there being no authentic coins of later date than 1717 Ś.—a year which ended on April 9th, 1796.

As already noted, the Gold coins of Gaurinātha in the Amherst collection include a Mohur of 1716 (with R.Y. 1 at bottom of Reverse), an undated $\frac{1}{2}$ -Mohur, a $\frac{1}{3}$ -Mohur and a $\frac{1}{4}$ -Mohur. The Mohur may be identical with S.C. No. 38 (if the latter has no ornamentation on Reverse). The $\frac{1}{4}$ -Mohur has the same inscription as the $\frac{1}{2}$ -Re. catalogued as S.C. No. 1, but with no R.Y. (or date) on Reverse. There is no ornamentation on either side. The inscription on the $\frac{1}{3}$ -M. is the same as in the $\frac{1}{3}$ -Rs. (S.C. Nos. 80-2), with a group of 3 dots at angle 8 and two other similar groups below the second line of Obverse. The Reverse is devoid of ornamentation. The $\frac{1}{3\frac{1}{2}}$ -M. has the same inscription as in S.C. No. 88, which has a group of 3 dots to the right—not left, as in the Amherst specimen—of the *Śrī* on Obverse.

The Rupees that are new to the Shillong Cabinet include the following:—

(1) Re. of 1716 and R.Y. 1, with inscription as in the Mohur already described. The Reverse differs in having a ₹ below the bottom line, as well as a group of 5 dots at angle 2, two groups of 3 dots each above the second *Śrī* and *Har* of *Hara* respectively, and a third group of 3 dots between the upper portions of the *Ha* and *ra* in the first line.

(2) A crudely-struck Re. of *Śāka* 171 (?? 8) (?? R.Y. 7)—*vide* Pl. 5, No. 4). Inscription as in Mohur, and all Rs. from 1707 onwards to end of reign, e.g. S.C. No. 18. Ornamentation:—

Obverse.

Reverse.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (a) Segment of 3 dots at side 2. | Segment of 3 dots at beginning, |
| (b) Dragon at bottom degraded to two groups of 2 dots each and a tail under date to R., so that the Dragon seems to have faced L. | and inclined line of 3 dots at end of first line. |
| (c) To extreme L. of bottom (side 4) a triangular sign which may have been intended to represent the head of an Assamese 7. | |

It is difficult to make any useful comments on the date of this coin for—as has already been stated—Gaurinātha died several months before the close of *Śāka* 1717, and there is no sign of a 1 before the triangle that may have been intended for a 7 of the R.Y. On the other hand, it is clear that the other numerals were intended to indicate some year in the second decade of the 18th *Śāka* century. The coin was bought by Sir R. Burn at Ghāzipur, U.P., and obtained from him by exchange.

(3) Crudely struck Re. with unusual arrangement of inscriptions and strange date (*vide* Pl. 5, No. 5).

Obverse.

- (1) *Srī Srī Svarga.*
- (2) *Deva Srī Gaurī-*
- (3) *nātha Simha nripa-*
- (4) *sya Śāke* 120.

Dragon to L. at bottom. Group of 5 (?) dots at angle 2, and (?) semicircle of 4 dots at angle 4—in front of Dragon.

Reverse.

- (1) *Srī Srī Hara*
- (2) *Gaurī charanāra.*
- (3) *binda makaranda ma-*
- (4) *dhu karasya.*

Apparently no ornamentation.

Suggestions as to the precise meaning of the date as shown on this coin are invited from students of Assamese history and numismatics. It cannot be intended as a date in a new era commencing from the accession of Gadādhara Simha in 1603 Ś. as that would bring the date of the striking of the coin later than the death of Gaurinātha in 1717 Ś. The coin reached the writer from Jorhāt and was obtained from him by exchange.

In addition to the above-mentioned coins, two new $\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs. were obtained by exchange; the two $\frac{1}{4}$ -Rs. of 1716—one with R.Y. 1—in the Amherst collection are different from those already in the Shillong Cabinet; and the two $\frac{1}{16}$ -Rs. found in the collection were also previously undescribed. For details the supplementary catalogue of these coins at Shillong may be consulted.

BHARATHA SIMHA, Rājā of Rangpur.

(1713–1715 and 1718–19 Śāka=1791–3 and 1796–7 A.D.)

Bharatha was leader of the Moāmariās who drove Gaurinātha from his capital, Rangpur, in 1708 or 9 Ś. Coins struck by him in 1713 Ś. are rare, the only ones recorded up to now being a Rupee in the British Museum and a $\frac{1}{4}$ -Re. in Mr. Botham's cabinet; and, previous to the purchase of the Amherst collection, the Shillong Cabinet did not possess a single coin struck by Bharatha Simha during the period before Gaurinātha was reinstated by Capt. Welsh. The Amherst Collection was found to include a $\frac{1}{4}$ -Re., dated 1714 Ś.: and a Rupee of 1715 Ś. was obtained by exchange with the British Museum. The latter only differs from S.C. No. 1 (a Re. of 1718 Ś.) in the date, and details of ornamentation; but no $\frac{1}{4}$ -Re. of 1714 Ś. seems to have been previously noted, and the coin has therefore been reproduced on Pl. 5, (No. 6). Except for date, the inscription is the same as that of the $\frac{1}{4}$ -Re. of 1715 Ś. in the British Museum, which was described by Allan on p. 328 of his 1909 paper in the 'Numismatic Chronicle' and illustrated as No. 8, Pl. XXV, of the same paper; but the ornamentation of the Reverse of the two coins is very different. In the Amherst specimen, this consists of segments of circles at sides 1, 3 and 7; a segment

and 4 dots at side 5 ; a knob-ended cross between the 7 and initial figure of the date ; and, finally, single dots over (1) the ॐ of *Śāka* ; (2) before the initial figure of the date ; (3) between the initial and second figures ; and (4) between the second and third figures. The last three form a triangle, with the broadest side uppermost. As regards the Obverse, the single dot at the beginning of the first line in the B.M. specimen is missing in the Amherst coin, so that its obverse is entirely devoid of ornamentation.

The Amherst Collection also included a $\frac{1}{4}$ -Re. struck by Bharatha in 1719 Ś. which, like that of 1714, has not previously been recorded. The inscriptions are identical, but the ornamentation found on both sides differentiates the 1719 coin from those of either 1714 or 1715. On the obverse there are 2 dots at angle 2 and 3, in a convex line, at angle 7, i.e. at the beginning and end of the first line. The Reverse has a segment and 5 dots at side 1 ; a group of 4 dots at side 3 ; and groups of 3 dots at angles 2 and 6, and sides 2, 4, 5 and 8.

Of the two $\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs. found in the Collection, one is identical with S.C. No. 3, and has no ornamentation on either side ; while the other differs in having on the Obverse a group of 3 dots at the beginning and end of the first line (i.e. angles 2 and 7) as well as one at angle 3 ; and between the second and third lines there is a row of well-separated single dots. On the Reverse, a group of 3 dots is found at angle 2, and a single dot below the second *pa* of 1.2. The reverse is twisted left by one sector (45°) from the usual position of 180° to the Obverse.

Dr. Wilson makes the following remarks at the end of his description of Bharatha Simha's coins :—

'This was the first Prince set up by the followers of the Mahamari,¹ and the Legend on his coins explains the nature of the disputes that agitated Asam. It was a religious contest, between the worshippers of Śiva and Vishnu. The ruling dynasty was all along attached to the former, but in the coins of Bharata and Sarvananda, the name of Krishna is substituted for those of Hara and Gauri. Bharata was reduced to submission by the English detachment and pardoned in 1793. After Captain Welsh's departure, he again assumed sovereign power as appears from No. 4 [the $\frac{1}{4}$ -Re. of *Śāka* 1719=A.D. 1796-7], and, as

¹ *Sic.* Dr. Wilson apparently thought the Moāmariās were followers of a 'spiritual chief entitled the Maha Mari'. For possible derivations of the name *vide* Gait (*op. cit.*, 1906 ed., p. 58).

No coins of Bharatha Simha later than those of 1796-7 A.D. are known, so possibly the rebellion and death of 'Bharati Raja' of Bengmara, mentioned by Gait (*idem*, p. 216) as having occurred in 1799, after Kamalesvara Simha's accession, may—if the date is correct—refer to yet another revolt by his successor in the leadership of the Moāmariās (? Bharatha Simha's son).

Buchanan states, was shortly afterwards taken and put to death by the Minister of Gaurināth.¹

SARVĀNANDA SIMHA, Rājā of Matak.

((?) 1715-7 *Śāka*=(?) 1793-5 A.D.)

This temporary usurper of the throne of Assam towards the end of the reign of Gaurinātha was Vaishnava leader of the Morāns—a Bodo tribe that the Ahoms found in possession of the hinterland to the modern town of Dibrugarh, when they entered Assam at the beginning of the 13th century A.D. and with whom they intermingled.

Sarvānanda's capital was Bengmara, 10 miles east of Dibrugarh, and he only seems to have struck coins in 1716 and 1717 *Ś*.¹ Three of his coins were found in the Amherst Collection, two of them being Rupees of the date 1716. One of these is identical with S.C. No. 1, while the other is similar in inscription to the rupee of 1717 in the Shillong Cabinet. It differs, however, in the ornamentation of both Obverse and Reverse. On the Obverse (besides the Dragon to L.) there is a square of 4 dots between *Śāke* and date. On the Reverse, in addition to the dot and crescent over the *padma* of l. (2) there are groups of 3 dots at angles 6 and 7, as well as single dots (a) above and below the first *pa*; (b) below the *dva* in l. (2); and (c) below the initial *ma* in l. (3).

The third coin is an undated $\frac{1}{2}$ -Re. which is similar in inscription to S.C. No. 6, but differs from it is not even having the 3 dots of ornamentation at angle 2 of the Reverse.

The Morāns appear to have again revolted under the leadership of Sarvānanda at Bengmara in the reign of Gaurinātha's successor, Kamaleśvara Simha, in 1727 *Ś*. (=1805 A.D.);² but as the rebellion was quickly suppressed, possibly there was little chance of Sarvānanda having been able to strike coins on this occasion. The Morāns however continued to enjoy semi-independence, and for 16 years after the transfer of the suzerainty of Assam to the British by the treaty of Yandabo in 1826 A.D. Matak was not included in British India (Gait, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-6 and 306).

The 1727 *Ś*. revolt of the Morāns is otherwise noteworthy for the fact that, while it was in progress, Burmese aid was invited by the rebels in their struggle against their overlord. It is true that the two parties who came did not stop long in Assam, but the visits must have resulted in valuable information being taken back to Ava, and so contributed a decade later to the

¹ The White King coin, mentioned by Allan (*op. cit.*, p. 328, n. 14) as having the date 1715 *Ś*. is not among the Assamese coins of Sir R. Burn, who purchased this portion of the White King collection.

² Vide Gait, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

decision of the Burmese monarch to take an active part in Assamese affairs.

KAMALEŚVARA ŚIMHA.

(1717-1732 *Śāka*=1795-1810 A.D.)

As is suggested by the fact that the only dated coins struck in this reign are all of the same year 1720 *Ś.*, i.e., 3 years after Kamaleśvara being placed on the throne of Assam, he was merely a puppet King, appointed by Gaurinātha's *Burha Gohain*, or Prime Minister, and content to leave all affairs of State in his Minister's capable hands. The scarcity of coins struck in Kamaleśvara's name is probably also an indication of the constant revolts that occurred during the first ten years after Gaurinātha's death. Two of these have already been referred to, viz. : the renewed rebellions of Bharatha Śimha in 1718-19 *Ś.* and of Sarvānanda in 1727.

Previous to the discovery of the Amherst collection, the only known coins of Kamaleśvara were two Mohurs of 1720 (in the cabinets of Mr. Botham and Sir Richard Burn respectively), a few rupees of the same year, and a few undated $\frac{1}{2}$ - and $\frac{1}{8}$ -Rupees. Of the three Amherst coins, one is an undated $\frac{1}{2}$ -Re. apparently identical with S.C. No. 2, the second a previously undescribed and undated $\frac{1}{2}$ -Re. which has the same inscription as the last-named coin, but differs from it in having, as ornamentation of the Obverse, three groups of 3 dots each at the beginning and end of the first line and over the second *Śrī* (instead of being entirely devoid of ornamentation on this face); while the third is a new $\frac{1}{8}$ -Mohur. The inscription on the faces of this coin is the same as in the $\frac{1}{8}$ -Re. described under S.C. No. 3, but differs from it in having as ornamentation on the Obverse a rosette of 5 dots at the bottom (instead of a group of 3 dots) and on the Reverse only 2 (or 3) dots between the initial syllables of ll. (1) and (2), instead of the five small groups of dots found in the Shillong specimen.

CHANDRAKĀNTA ŚIMHA.

(1732-1740 *Śāka*=1810-18 A.D.; restored by the Burmese in 1741 *Ś.*=1819 A.D.; fled to Bengal the following year.)

On Kamaleśvara's death from smallpox in 1810 A.D. the *Burha Gohain* placed Kamaleśvara's younger brother Chandrakānta on the throne; and the fact that the latter was still only a youth at the time may be one of the reasons for the complete absence of any coins bearing his name, for the first period of his nominal rule—even after the first Burmese invasion in 1816-7 A.D. and the *Burha Gohain*'s death. The latter's successor in office evidently continued to regard Chandrakānta as a puppet King, and when, less than a year later, the new Minister was

assassinated and the late Burha Gohain's son took his place, the first step he took was to depose Chandrakānta, and to place a grandson (or great-grandson) of Rajeśvara Siṃha, named Brajanātha on the throne. News of this having been communicated to Burma, another Burmese army was sent to reinstate Chandrakānta, and for the next two years—1741 and 1742 Ś.—coins were struck in his name. Chandrakānta, however, soon found that he had even less authority under the Burmese Generals than with Ministers of his own race, and in the following year he fled to British territory. There he raised bands of mercenaries, with which for some time he carried out unsuccessful raids against the Burmese. This led to counter-raids by the Burmese into British territory, which ultimately forced the British to intervene in Assamese affairs. After the conclusion of the Burmese war, Assam for 6 or 7 years was administered as British territory, and when finally it was decided to try the experiment of again placing Upper Assam under Assamese rule, Chandrakānta was not considered the best candidate for the headship of the new State, and Purandar, a son of Brajanātha Siṃha, was selected instead of him.

The Amherst coins of this King include two similar Rupees of 1741 Ś. with the same inscriptions as those found on the two Shillong varieties of this year, but differing from both of them in having on the Obverse no group of dots either between the beginnings of ll. (2) and (3), or near the Dragon; while on the Reverse there is no group of dots above the top line, and that between the beginnings of ll. (3) and (4) is differently placed. There are two $\frac{1}{4}$ -Rs. of 1741 and 1742 Ś. respectively, neither of which is found in the Shillong Cabinet. The latter date is noteworthy, as previously the only known coins of 1742 were a Rupee and $\frac{1}{4}$ -Re.—both in Mr. Botham's Cabinet. The remaining three coins include two similar undated $\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs. (with the same inscriptions as on S.C. Nos. 3-5, but differing in the details of ornamentation); and a $\frac{1}{32}$ -Re. which has the same inscription as that of the $\frac{1}{16}$ -Re. catalogued as S.C. No. 8, but is again different in ornamentation from the latter, both as regards Obverse and Reverse.

BRAJANĀTHA SIṂHA.

(1739-40 Śāka=1818 A.D.)

The circumstances through which Chandrakānta was superseded by this Prince have already been mentioned, and from the comparatively large number of Brajanātha's coins that are found in various Cabinets it might be concluded that he remained on the throne for at least as long as his predecessor. He appears, however, to have only reigned for about 3 months at the end of 1739 Ś. and the beginning of the following Śāka year, or, in other words, from February to April or May,

1818 A.D.¹ The *Buranjis* (Assamese Chronicles) state that Brajanātha was then replaced by his son Purandar Simha on the excuse that he was ineligible, under Ahom custom, to be King, owing to this having suffered some sort of mutilation.² In any case, nothing more is heard of him.

An undated Half-Mohur of Brajanātha, which is apparently the first to be recorded, was found in the Amherst Collection. The inscriptions are the same as in the $\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs. (e.g. S.C. Nos. 6-8). The ornamentation of the Obverse is a semicircle and dot over the second *Srī*, and a group of 3 dots at angle 7 (end of first line); while on the Reverse there is a similar group at angle 8. Another Gold coin—a Mohur, dated 1739 *Ś.*—was obtained by purchase.³ This has the same inscriptions as the B.M. Mohur of 1739 *Ś.*; but the latter is apparently devoid of ornamentation on both sides. The new Mohur is chiefly characterized by having the Dragon to L., at the bottom of the Obverse, only very sketchily shown. The only other ornamentation on this side is a group of 3 dots at the beginning of the first line (side 2). On the Reverse, there is a semicircle with 5 dots above the *Ra* of *Rādha*, and a group of 5 dots at the beginning of the first line (angle 2). The defective representation of the Dragon (which is also found in the Shillong Mohur of 1740—S.C. No. 4) suggests that the coin was struck in a period of political confusion, and probably not at the official mint. (For reproduction of this Mohur *vide* No. 7, Pl. 5).

The two Rupees of 1740 *Ś.* found in the Collection differ in ornamentation from one another as well as from that of S.C. No. 5, and the same is the case with the two undated $\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs., the ornamentation of both being different in various ways from that of the three $\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs. at Shillong (S.C. Nos. 6-8). The two Amherst $\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs. are dated 1739 and 1740 *Ś.* respectively. The latter is new to the Shillong collection, though specimens are to be found in the cabinets of the British Museum and Mr. Botham. The former differs from S.C. No. 3 in having no dots on the Obverse while on the Reverse there are two groups of 3 dots below the date, and segments with 3 dots at sides 1, 3 and (probably) 7. The segment at side 1 has also a semicircle to its right and left.

¹ *Vide J.A.S.B.*, 1910, p. 644. Dr. Wilson points out in his 'Description' that the legends on the Reverse of Brajanātha's coins, viz.: in the case of the Mohurs and Rupees, *Srī Srī Rādha Krishna Charana Kamala Makaranda Madhu Karasya*, or—in the $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ coins—*Srī Srī Rādha Krishna Pada Parasya*, clearly show that this King was placed on the throne by the party hostile to Chandrakānta. As the invocation of Hara Gaurī on the latter's coins indicates, Chandrakānta, like his predecessors, was a Saivite.

² Gait (*op. cit.*, p. 223) notes that Chandrakānta after he was deposed in 1739 *Ś.* had his right ear slit in order to disqualify him from again sitting on the throne.

³ Indirectly from the *Toshakhāna* of the Nawāb of Dacca Estate.

The remaining Amherst coin of Brajanātha is a $\frac{1}{16}$ -Re. which is identical with S.C. No. 11.

No coins of Purandar Simha, Brajanātha's son, are known, either for the brief period of 1740 *Ś.*, before the second Burmese invasion, when he is said to have succeeded his Father, or for the $5\frac{1}{2}$ years, 1833-8 A.D., when he was again placed in possession of Upper Assam by the British.

JOGEŚVARA SIMHA.

(1743 *Śāka* = 1821 A.D.)

This Prince—the last nominal King of Assam to strike coins—is said to have been the son of an Ava monarch by an Assamese wife, and was placed on the throne by the Burmese General Ala Mingi, after Chandrakānta had fled for the second time to British territory. The only dated coin struck in his name that was previously known was a $\frac{1}{4}$ -Re. of 1743 *Ś.* in Mr. Botham's Cabinet, but the Amherst collection has added two more $\frac{1}{4}$ -Rs. of this year, which differ slightly from one another in ornamentation. On the Obverse of the first there is a faint group of 3 dots over the *ra* of Jogesvara (between ll. (1) and (2)) and—apart from other ornamentation—two groups of 3 dots each above the *ke* of *Śāke* on the Reverse. The other has no ornamentation on the Obverse, while on the Reverse the two groups of 3 dots above the top line are separated, one being above the *Śa* and the other above the *e* of *Śāke*. A reproduction of the former will be found as No. 8, Pl. 5, from which it will be seen that the inscriptions, etc. are as follows:—

Obverse.

- (1) *Śrī Śrī Jo-*
 - (2) *gesvara Si-*
 - (3) *mha nrīpasya.*
- Group of 3 dots between ll. (1) and (2).

Reverse.

- (1) *Śāke.*
 - (2) 1743.
- Five groups of 3 dots each, two above l. (1), and one each to right, left, and at bottom.

The remaining two Amherst coins of Jogesvara are undated $\frac{1}{2}$ -Rs.—apparently identical with S.C. No. 2 and Pl. V, No. 13.

Nothing is known for certain as to how long Jogesvara remained on the throne of Assam, but the fact that Chandrakānta was induced by the Burmese to return at some unspecified date before the outbreak of war with the British in January, 1824 A.D. (on the plea that Jogesvara had only been made King owing to Chandrakānta having fled the country) seems to show that Jogesvara was regarded by the Burmese as an even greater puppet than his predecessors. Chandrakānta was, however, thrown into prison at Rangpur as soon as he returned, so possibly Jogesvara remained as titular King till the final expulsion of the Burmese from Assam in 1825.

H. E. STAPLETON.

NOTE ON TWO ADDITIONS TO THE AMHERST COLLECTION.

Dr. Stapleton has asked me to note the description of coins numbered 10 and 11 in the additions made to the Amherst Collection.

No. 10, *Tipperah Rupee* (Plate 5, No. 9).

Obverse : in square, with arabesques in segments.

*Śiva Durgā pa-
de Śrī Śrī yuta
Rājadhā+ra
Mānikya Devaḥ*

Reverse : lion to left. Above, crescent and dot.

Between feet, *Śāke* 1707.
Æ.

This type of Rājadhara's coins differs from the more ordinary type which has the syllable *Mā* at the end of the third line instead of the beginning of the fourth, and has not the mark + between the *dha* and *ra*.

No. 11, *Manipur Rupee* (Plate 5, No. 10).

This is a coin of Chaurajit Simha of Manipur dated Ś. 1734 (1812 A.D.). A similar coin was published by Mr. Thorburn in N.S. XLII, No. 284, p. 30, but I read the inscription rather differently than Mr. Thorburn did, so give it in full.

Obverse

*Śrī-man Maṇipure-
śvara Śrī Chauraji-
ta Simha nṛpavara-
sya Śāke* 1734

Reverse

*Śrī-mad Rādhā Go-
bind padāraviṇ-
da makaranda ma-
no madhukarasya*

Square Æ. Wt. 173.08 grains. Diam. .83 in.

Chaurajit (not Chandrajit as read by Mr. Thorburn) Simha reigned from Ś. 1725 to 1734 (A.D. 1803-12), *vide* the table at p. 218, Cat. of Provincial Cabinet of Coins, E. Bengal and Assam, 1911. This coin was bought by Dr. Stapleton in Calcutta in 1909.

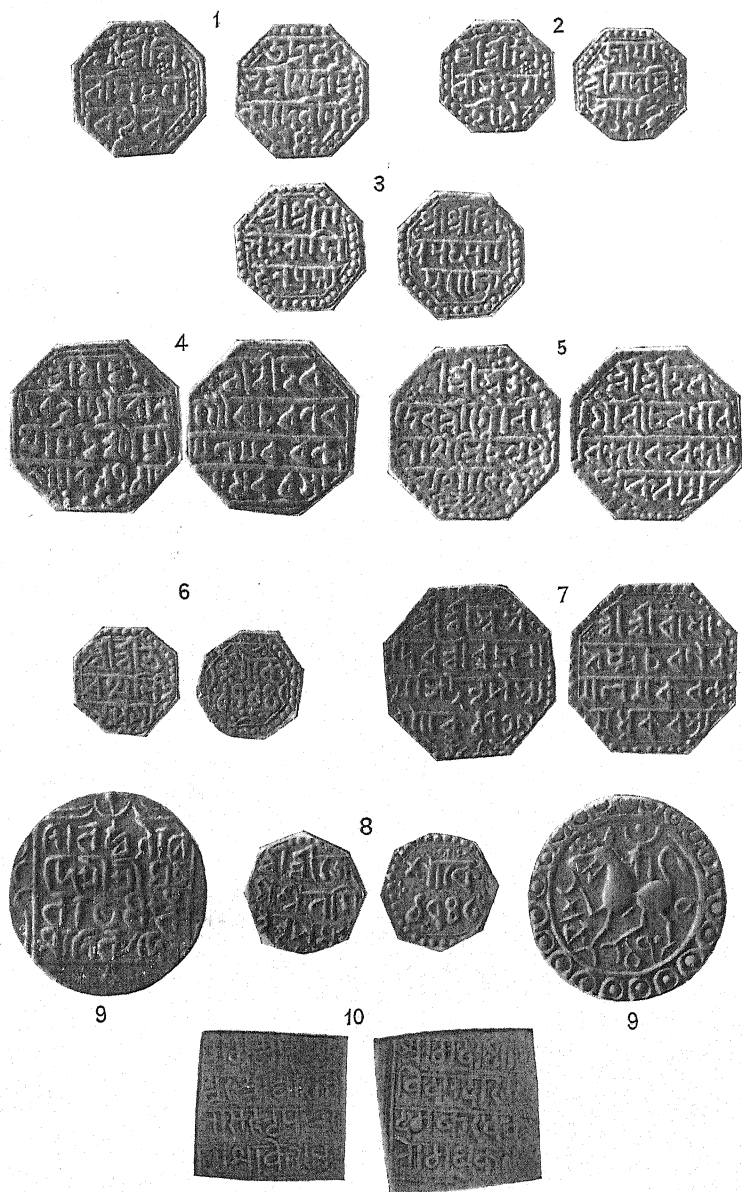
R. BURN.

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the United States. It is argued that a knowledge of the past is essential for a full understanding of the present. The author then goes on to discuss the various factors that have shaped the development of the United States, including the role of the government, the economy, and the culture.

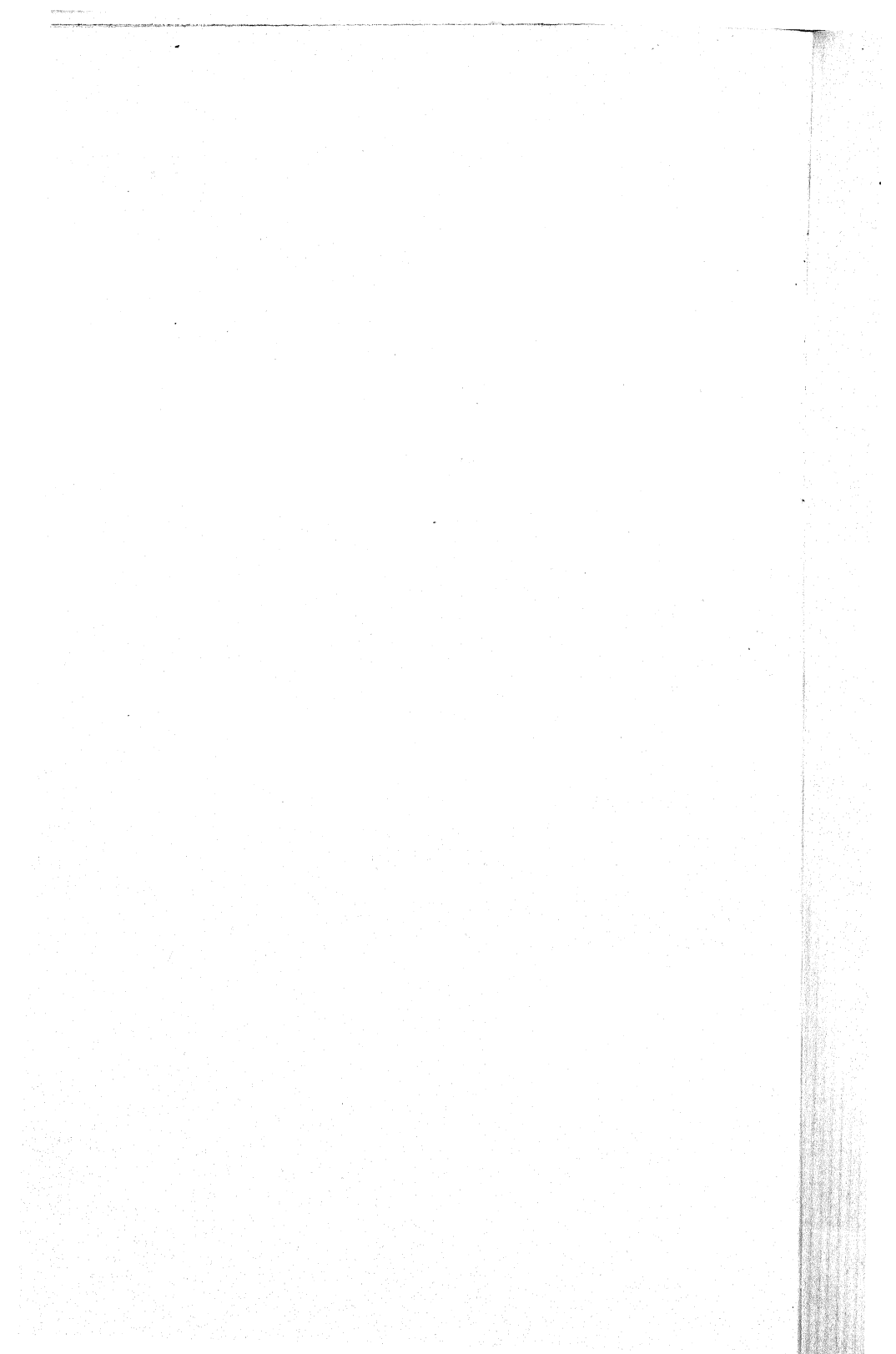
In the second part of the paper, the author discusses the role of the government in the development of the United States. It is argued that the government has played a central role in the development of the country, and that its actions have shaped the course of history. The author then goes on to discuss the various policies that the government has implemented, and the impact of these policies on the country.

The third part of the paper discusses the role of the economy in the development of the United States. It is argued that the economy has played a central role in the development of the country, and that its growth has shaped the course of history. The author then goes on to discuss the various factors that have contributed to the growth of the economy, and the impact of these factors on the country.

Finally, the author discusses the role of the culture in the development of the United States. It is argued that the culture has played a central role in the development of the country, and that its values have shaped the course of history. The author then goes on to discuss the various factors that have contributed to the development of the culture, and the impact of these factors on the country.



Coins of North-Eastern India—Assam, Tipperah and Manipur.



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